

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 3-4

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COLLOQUIUM
ON ARABIC GRAMMAR

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EDITED BY

KINGA DÉVÉNYI AND TAMÁS IVÁNYI



EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES
&
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FOCUS OF CONCERN IN IBN MAKKĪ'S *TATQĪF AL-LISĀN*:
THE CASE OF GENDER IN THE MEDIEVAL ARABIC OF SICILY

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1. Introduction

Ibn Makkī ṣ-Ṣiqillī (d. 501/1107)'s *Tatqīf al-Lisān* aims to correct dialectisms that occur among the *ʿāmma* (common people) of Muslim Sicily (213-485/827-1091). It forms part of the *lahn al-ʿāmma* (Verbal Mistakes of the Common People) literary genre and is the product of the divergent regional dialects of immigrants pouring into the island of Sicily and their intimate contact with the new Sicilian converts to Islam, who were attempting with only limited success, to learn Arabic for religious and commercial purposes. I have divided the Arabic of Sicily into two categories: (a) Siculo-Lahn Arabic (=SLA)¹ based on the data retrieved from Ibn Makkī's *Tatqīf*, (b) Siculo-Arabic (=SA) based on documents found in the notarial and ecclesiastical archives and the numerous words and idioms used in the Sicilian dialect of Arabic origin recorded in dictionaries and word-lists. Both strata belong to the Maḡribī linguistic group. They share common phonological and morphological features with North African dialects and Hispano-Arabic. The Sicilian dialect of today reveals lexical remnants of the Siculo-Arabic in a large inventory of Material Cultural terms; furthermore, one stratum of the Siculo-Arabic lexical input comes from the nomenclature of the Norman *ḡarā'id* (registers), documents of which are located in the state and ecclesiastical archives of Sicily.

We may reconstruct through Ibn Makkī's treatise phonological and morphological rules of SLA. This paper attempts to discuss in the realm of morphology: (a) the tendency of SLA to mark for gender certain nouns which are of common gender in Classical Arabic (=CA), e.g. SLA *ʿaḡūza* (f) : CA *ʿaḡūz* (m/f) "old woman"; SLA *ʿankabūta* (f) : CA *ʿankabūt* (m/f) "spider"; (b) the evidence of Arabic feminine nouns becoming masculine in the Sicilian dialect or the post-Islamic documents of Sicily, e.g. CA *ḡumma* (f) "a skein of silk or a flock of wool" > SA *ḡummu* (m) "a tassel; tuft, flock, lock"; CA *sukkāra* (f) "wooden lock" > SA *succāri* (m) "bolt, bar".

1.1

Ibn Makkī treats the question of variation in gender in two chapters (Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 306-13). An attempt here is made to discuss some important points of common gender in CA and the marking for gender in SLA.

Two genders are distinguished in CA, masculine and feminine. The masculine possesses a zero morpheme whereas the feminine has a special morpheme the origin

¹ Abbreviations used: Aram Aramaic, B Berber, CA Classical Arabic, Egi Egyptian, Fr French, Gr Greek, It Italian, Lat Latin, Mal Maltese, Mor Moroccan, Per Persian, Port Portuguese, R Romance, SA Siculo-Arabic, SLA Siculo-Lahn Arabic, Sp Spanish.

of which belongs to a "more complex and ancient system of classes" in the Semitic area (Moscati et al. 1964:84-5)

2.

Arabic nouns in CA are divided into three categories: (a) masculine (b) feminine (c) masculine and feminine. Feminine nouns may be *ḥaqīqī* such as *imra'a* "woman", *nāqa* "she-camel" with a marker *tā' marbūṭa* and *ḡayr ḥaqīqī* such as *šams* "sun", *naʿl* "shoe", *bušrā* "good news" (Wright 1896-98:I, 177), which are unmarked. Some feminine unmarked nouns are: (a) *ma'nawī* "by meaning", such as *'anīs* "bride", *'aḡūz* "old woman", *ḥādīm* "female servant"; *rīḥ* "wind", *nār* "fire"; *kaṭif* "shoulder", *sāq* "leg" and (b) *lafẓī* "by form", such as *ḡanna* "garden", *ḥayā* "life" marked by a *tā' marbūṭa* and (those ending in *'alif maqṣūra*, a servile letter) *lumā* "blade", *ḡikrā* "memory", *dunyā* "world", all unmarked and (those ending in *'alif* and *hamza*) *ṣaḥrā* "desert", *kibriyā* "pride" both unmarked (Wright 1896-98:I, 178-9).

There are some thirty-one nouns which are both masculine and feminine in CA, while in dialects dual gender nouns tend to carry a definite gender, masculine or feminine. A tendency to mark unmarked feminine nouns is found in several dialects, such as Mor *'ruša* (Harrell 1962:263) < CA *'anīs* and Egy *sikkīna* (Badawi-Hinds 1986:422) < CA *sikkīn* "knife". The phenomenon of marking feminine nouns existed in SLA, such as *'anīs(a)*, *'aḡūz(a)* and *'ankabūt(a)* (Ibn Makkī, *Taṭqīf* 117-9). The three equivalents in CA are all examples of dual gender; they are grammatically *ḥaqīqī* and have two referents as opposed to nouns like *qaws* "bow", *sūr* "wall" and *qidr* "pot" which are either masculine or feminine but are *ḡayr ḥaqīqī* and have only one referent. Although CA *'aḡūz* signifies "old person", CA *'anīs* "person about to be married", these terms appear ambiguous as to natural gender (Molan 1978:263-4); hence the strong tendency in dialects to mark the gender of the referent specifying the feminine gender, e.g. *'arīsa* "bride" and *'aḡūza* "old woman".

2.1

CA feminine nouns ending in *'alif maqṣūra* on the pattern of *fa'lā*, such as *ḡaḏbā* "angry", *sakrā* "drunkard", *šab'ā* "sated" are non-existent in SLA; the masculine pattern *fa'lān* is applied in SLA by marking it with a *tā' marbūṭa*, thus *ḡaḏbāna*, *sakrāna*, *šab'āna* (Ibn Makkī, *Taṭqīf* 119). There are CA feminine nouns which possess no marker of feminine gender nor the feminine nature such as *šams* and *nār* and that the feminine gender is fixed; others have no marker but the feminine nature, such as *bint* "girl".

3.

An inherent element of linguistic change occurs in the grammatical gender of dialectal Arabic and such changes from feminine to masculine exist in unmarked nouns but the change from masculine to feminine gender in unmarked nouns is rather unusual. Such noun are CA *sayf* (m) > SLA (f) "sword", CA *qamar* (m) > SLA (f) "moon", CA *bāb* (m) > SLA (f) "door", CA *bayt* (m) > SLA (f) "house", CA *qalb* (m) > SLA (f) "heart" (Ibn Makkī, *Taṭqīf* 206-8). The question of gender changes has already been dealt with by Marçais (1956:334-6), Destaing (1935-45:173-88) and

Molan (1978:269-71) who found several causes for change of grammatical gender in the dialects as opposed to CA.

3.1

It seems, according to Marçais and Destaing, that the influence of Berber gender is a possible attraction as it was observed that words like *bēt* "house", *zēt* "oil", *mōt* "death" are all feminine in the Maġribī dialects (a statement which is not entirely true, cf Mal *bejt*² [m] "roof", *žejt* [m], *mewt* [f]) as opposed to the masculine in classical and eastern dialects (Marçais 1956:335; Destaing 1935-45:176). The reader is referred to Ġigellī Arabic dialect (Marçais 1956:334-6) and Tačelhit dialect of the Člewḥs in Morocco (Destaing 1935-45:173-88). Much of the data on the inversions of gender given by Marçais and Destaing are also found in Ibn Makkī's treatise, but Molan suggests a Romance alternative of influence to assign unmarked nouns the gender opposite to what normally CA nouns are assigned with. He argues that the impact of Berber influence on the Arabic of the Mediterranean islands and upon North Africa prior to the Banī Hilāl invasion was not as large as it was made to be (Molan 1978:71-92). The Romance interference came about with the speaker speaking Arabic as a Second Language.

3.2

If we compare the data given by Ibn Makkī with Berber and Romance gender assignment we will find that most Romance cognates share their feminine gender with the SLA while the Berber does not (Molan 1978:267):

CA *sayf* (m) "sword", SLA *s.yf* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 206]

R - It *spada* (f), Sp *espada* (f), Fr *épée* (f), B *aḥriš* (m); Mal *sejif* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1286]

CA *qamar* (m) "moon", SLA *q.m.r* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 206]

R - It *luna* (f), Sp *luna* (f), Fr *lune* (f), B *ayyūr* (m); Mal *qamar* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1116]

CA *maṭar* (m) "rain", SLA *m.t.r* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 207]

R - It *pioggia* (f), Sp *lluvia* (f), Fr *pluie* (f), B *anṣar* (m)

Unlike SLA, Maltese corresponds with the CA gender except for *maṭar*, Maltese has *xita* (Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1575).

3.3

Other citations from Ibn Makkī point out a correspondence of both the Romance and Berber gender with the SLA (Molan 1978:272-3).

CA *bāb* (m) "door", SLA *bāb* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 207]

R - It *porta* (f), Sp *puerta* (f), Fr *porte* (f), B *tiflūt* (f); Mal *bicb* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:I, 117]

CA *bayt* (m) "tent; house; shelter", SLA *b.yt* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 207] (SA *bāitu* [m] "a place for merchandisc" [Agius 1987:273])

² The Maltese terms are underlined using the official orthographic system devised by the Ġiħaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti in 1924.

R - It *casa* (f), Sp *casa* (f), Fr *maison* (f), B *tigenmi* (f); Mal *[bejt]* (m) "roof"
Aquilina 1987-90:I, 96]

CA *ħaṣṣr* (m), "mat" SLA *ħ.s.yr* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 208]

R - It *stuoia* (f), Sp *estera* (f), Fr *matte* (f), B *tagertilt* (f); Mal *ħasira* [(f) Aquilina 1987-90:I, 514]

CA *sarġ* (m) "saddle", SLA *s.rġ* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 207]

R - It *sella* (f), Sp *silla* (f), Fr *selle* (f), B *tarikī/tassriṭ* (f); Mal *sarġ* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1274]

CA *ġadīr* (m) "pool", SLA *ġ.d.yr* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 208]

R - It *pozzonghera* (f), Sp *charca* (f), Fr *étang* (m), B *tanda(te)*; Mal *ġħadīr* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 938]

All Maltese cognates correspond with the CA gender with the exception of *ħasira* (*lafzī* marked) which was possibly at one time *ħasir*.

3.4

The linguistic picture of this data is clear but in analyzing some terms one finds that the correspondence is not perfect, for example CA *ħaṣṣr* and *ġadīr* have a mixed correspondence of gender in the Romance cognates because Italian has several words for "mat" that are masculine and Spanish has *tapete* and *felpudo* that are of masculine gender; also Italian has several terms for "pool" and Spanish has *estanque* and French *étang* in the masculine gender. On the other hand the Berber gender corresponds with the SLA. One has to note that in the case of B *bīt* and *mōt* which correspond in gender with the SLA form follow the /vt/ rule given by Marçais (1956:335) and Destaing (1935-45:176).

3.5

Several parts of the body are feminine in CA but masculine in SLA (Molan 1978:277-80):

CA *qadam* (f) "foot", SLA *q.d.m* [(m) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 210]

R - It *piede* (m), Sp *pie* (m), Fr *piéd* (m), B *tabašilt* (f); Mal *qadm/qadam* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1105]

CA *‘iṣba’* (f) "finger", SLA *iṣb.‘* [(m) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 210]

R - It *dito* (m), Sp *dedo* (m), Fr *doigt* (m), B *šbā’* (m); Mal *scba’/saba’* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1246]

CA *sinn* (f) "tooth", SLA *sinn* [(m) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 210]

R - It *dente* (m), Sp *diente* (m), Fr *dent* (m), B *akus* (m); Mal *sinna* [(f) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1321]

CA *‘aqib* (f) "heel", SLA *‘.q.b* [(m) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 210]

R - It *tallone* (m), Sp *talon* (m), Fr *talon* (m), B *swerz* (m); Mal *ġħarqub* [(m) Aquilina 1987-90:II, 978]

Here Maltese shares the gender with SLA with the exception of *sinna* (*lafzī* marked; **sinn* could have existed in medieval Maltese).

3.6

The Romance and Berber cognates largely correspond with SLA in the masculine gender. Material Cultural terms such as SLA *b.r* (m) "well" (Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 211), *d.lw* (m) "bucket" (Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 212), *f.s* (m) "pick-axe" (Ibn Makkī,

Tatqīf 226), *q.ws* (m) "bow" (Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 211) share mainly the same gender with Romance and Berber cognates. The SLA data on gender variation points to the fact that specific nouns were influenced by Romance and Berber in the West. Some dialectal interference is an underlying cultural influence that is visible in the terms selected by Ibn Makkī. Although of course not consciously chosen by the Sicilian grammarian they are definitely examples of "common mistakes" recurring in the Sicilian dialect of Arabic.

This gender variation is problematic and one of the problems is that of a specific referent, particularly with Material Cultural terms. The reader is reminded of the three-term analysis of meaning, i.e. words, concepts and things. The semantic problem as to what did such Material Cultural terms mean in the "time and space" of medieval Islamic and post-Islamic Sicily is a crucial one and the assignment of gender may depend on the meaning and use at a specific time. One good example is CA *na'l* (f) meaning "shoe, boot or sandal". What did SLA *n.ʿl* (Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 212) actually mean? The Romance cognates have varying terms with a mixture of genders, such as Italian *sandalo* (m), *scarpa* (f), Spanish *sandalia* (f), *zapato* (m), French *sandale* (f), *sabot* (m), *soulier* (m), *chaussure* (f). The Berber cognates are also of different genders: *aduku* (m), *turẓīt* (f). It is difficult to know which meaning the term *na'l* applied to in medieval Islamic Sicily. It is presumed that the primary speaker of Romance or Berber dialect could have used the term with specific referent that assigned the gender in the second language. Equally right to say how and when were the Romance cognates used at that point in time.

4.

With CA collective nouns '*asmā' al-ġins*, chiefly denoting animals and plants of a *nomen unitatis* they are masculine and feminine; such as *baqar* "cattle", *šaḡar* "trees", *naḥl* "palm-trees" (Wright 1896-98:I, 180). The Siculo-Arabic tends to assign collective nouns masculine, such as SA *ārzanu* (m) "silver fir" < CA *arẓ* "cedar" (Pellegrini 1972:I, 251), Mal *arżnu* (m) "pine-tree" < SA (Aquilina 1987-90:I, 45; Barbera 1939-40:I, 156), SA *cubbebbi* (m) "aromatic fruit the thickness of a pepper from an Indian tree; a kind of pepper from Java" documented in the fourteenth century < CA *kubāba* "cubeb" (Pellegrini 1972:I, 119, 189; Agius 1990:174), SA *cusurēmi* (island of Pantelleria) (m) "sour grapes" < CA *qurūṣa* "sourness, acidity" (Pellegrini 1972:I, 189), Mal *grusa* "acidity; sourness" (Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1128), SA *hurṯhi* (island of Pantelleria) (m) *firricu* / *furihi* / *furihu* < CA *hurayq* "stinging nettle" (Aquilina 1987-90:I, 554), Mor *hurṯiq* "nettle" (Pellegrini 1972:I, 192), Mal *hurrieq* (m) (Aquilina 1987-90:I, 554-5; Barbera 1939-40:II, 472); but some may be feminine as for example SA *fistuca* / *fastuca* (f) first documented in the fourteenth century < CA *fustuq* / *fustaq* < Per *pistah* (Freytag 1830-37:III, 346) or Gr *πιστάκη / πιστάκιον* (> It *pistacchio*) "pistachio (tree)" (Caracausi 1983: 227), Mal *fosdoq* / *fostoq* (m) "pod; pistachio" (Aquilina 1987-90:I, 358); SA *gugġiulena* (f) first documented *iuliulena* - 1312 in Palermo < CA *ġulġulān* "sesame" (Caracausi 1983:261-2; Pellegrini 1972:I, 119; Agius 1990:174), Mal *ġulġlien* / *ġilġlien* / *gonglien* / *gunġlien* / *ginglien* (m) "oily-grain, sesame" (Aquilina 1987-90:I, 414). In Maltese the tendency is to assign the masculine gender to names of plants and trees, such as *arżnu*, *ħorrieq*, *fosdoq* / *fostoq*, *ġulġlien* and its variables. One may

note, that in Sicilian, names of plants of Latin origin that are feminine become masculine ending in /-u/ or /-i/ (Galante 1969:64). This may explain perhaps the tendency of Siculo-Arabic to assign masculine gender to names of plants that are of Arabic origin; but there is a number of terms that take the feminine each one of which needs careful investigation.

5. Conclusion

The selection of either gender is an acceptable feature in CA. Certain nouns have dual gender, such as *'iṣba'*, *'ankabūt*, *faras* "horse", *qidr* (Wright 1896-98:I, 182) but grammarians and lexicographers tend to assign definite gender to the nouns. All the terms mentioned above, for example, are generally feminine and the selection of a particular gender might well come from the grammarian or lexicographer without external interference though the linguistic and cultural environment can play an important role in defining the gender. The post-Islamic documents of Sicily give evidence of Arabic masculine nouns becoming feminine in Sicilian i.e. SA *chiūmia* (f) "band, strip" first recorded *kyummias* 1279 in Palermo < CA *hām* (m) "raw material" (Caracausi 1983:191), SA *dagali* / *dāgala* (f) "sloping ground on the river banks subject to flood" first recorded *dachala* 1467 in Trapani < CA *daḡal* (m) "thicket, bush, jungle" (Caracausi 1983:199-200), SA *bbunaca* (f) "pool of water" < CA *manqa* (m) "pool, pond" (Pellegrini 1972:I, 149, 252), Mal *mnejqā* (f) "small field" (Aquilina 1987-90:II, 807); but it is rare to find CA feminine nouns switching to masculine in Sicilian, e.g. SA *giummu* (m) "a tassel; tuft, flock, lock" first recorded *jummi* 1511 in Catania < CA *ḡumma* (f) "a skein of silk or a flock of wool" (Caracausi 1983:257-8), SA *suṭṭari* (m) "bolt, bar" first recorded *suqaru* 1348 in S. Martino < CA *sukkāra* (f) "wooden lock" (Caracausi 1983:352) Mal *sokra* / *sokkra* (f) "a padlock", *sakkara* / *sukkara* / *sakkiera* (f) "a bar; bolt" (Aquilina 1987-90:II, 1340).

5.1

Grammatical changes are an old phenomenon and change from feminine to masculine gender in unmarked nouns is common. However, the change in unmarked nouns from masculine to feminine gender, such as CA *baṭn* (m) "belly" > SLA (f) cf R - It *pancia* (f), Sp *panza* (f), Fr *pense* (f), Port *barriga* (f) (Molan 1978:266) may suggest a Romance impact on the assignment of gender in the Siculo-Lahn Arabic; while in other instances Berber as well as Romance influence could determine the gender of SLA, e.g. CA *ḥaṣīr* (m) "mat" > SLA *ḥ.s.yr* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 208] cf R - It *stuoia* (f), Sp *estera* (f), Fr *matte* (f), B *tagerilt* (f); CA *sarḡ* (m) "saddle", SLA *s.rḡ* [(f) Ibn Makkī, *Tatqīf* 207] cf R - It *sella* (f), Sp *silla* (f), Fr *selle* (f), B *tarik/tassriḡ* (f) (Molan 1978:273). Despite the paucity of material, the data retrieved from Ibn Makkī's treatise could help us reconstructing some rules of SLA the results of which could bring some kind of patterning in the assignment of gender to the many Sicilian words of Arabic origin and those existing in the *ḡarā'id* and other documents, though a closer semantic synchronic and diachronic investigation of Romance and Berber words with Siculo-Lahn Arabic and Siculo-Arabic is desirable.

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LEXICAL STRESS VARIATION IN ARABIC: AN ACOUSTIC SPECTROGRAPHIC ANALYSIS*

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1. Introduction

The speech sounds of a human language are composed primarily of two types: segmentals and suprasegmentals. The segmentals consist of vowel and consonant sound units from which syllables and lexical items are formed. These sound units are usually arranged in a linear manner. Stress, pitch and length are superimposed on the syllables and are considered suprasegmentals. The phonetic and phonological bases of the sound system of any specific language are therefore established on the interaction of the segmentals and suprasegmentals. Even though length is considered a suprasegmental feature it can affect the vowels, consonants and syllables (Ladefoged 1982:14-5).

In Arabic long vowels and geminated consonants play a direct role in the formation and identification of syllables and syllable types. The placement of stress, pitch and length may interact intermittently. Sometimes one or more of these features is associated with the stressed syllable. Although the segmental and suprasegmental features operate in harmony and unison it is important to make the distinction between their two levels. Suprasegmentals or prosodic features are recognized, identified and "are established by a comparison of items in sequence ... whose arrangement in contrastive patterns in the time dimension is not restricted to single segments..." On the other hand, "the segmental features can be defined without reference to the sequence of segments in which the segment appears, and their presence can be established either by inspection or paradigmatic comparison..." (Lehiste 1970:2-3). The paradigmatic comparison is normally accomplished by comparing one item with others in the phonological inventory of the sound system of a specific language.

The speech sounds of a language are always in a state of flux and continuum. In the process of speaking, sounds are always interacting and are continually changing. The state of continuum of the speech sounds is directly associated with the movements and activities of the vocal organs that are used to produce speech. The acoustic physical nature of speech demonstrates this in a crystal clear manner. Just a quick glance at a spectrographic display will prove that speech is not distinctly produced as a discrete sequence of sounds. It is possible to identify individual sounds based on their acoustic characteristics. However, on a spectrogram display, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly where a sound ends and another begins in the sequence of an utterance of speech. In the same analogy, it is difficult in an utterance to separate completely the suprasegmental features from the segmentals. The three suprasegmental features — stress, pitch and length — may interact in an utterance in

* The author is conducting a series of experiments using the MacSpeech Lab II on stress and prosody in Arabic. This is the first article in the series. The analysis and results reported here are based on the experiment of *kitab/katib* (book/writer) recorded in isolation.

the phonological system of a specific language. The domain of stress is the syllable. The function of stress is on a contrastive basis and the operative level of stress requires a minimum of two syllables. The other prosodic features, pitch and length, may prevail at the stressed syllable either simultaneously or one at a time. The suprasegmental features are the focus of this investigation. In this production experiment of two lexical items, *kitāb* and *kātib* (book and writer, respectively), are tested in isolation.

2. Arabic language variety used in the study

The variety of Arabic used in this study is standard literary Arabic (*al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*) as used today by educated speakers. This is not a dialectal study of stress accent. However, any possible linguistic overflow influence, whether regional or dialectal, is to be expected. Each participating speaker of the production experiment of *kitāb/kātib* was handed a sheet of paper containing a list of Arabic lexical items with complete vocalization. The lists adhered fully to the morphological structures of literary Arabic. Each lexical item was designed to be read in pause form or with full vowel endings. In pause form here the vowel endings of an utterance or the last word in a phrase are dropped. The endings of a full form will change into a pause form in the following style: *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-in*, and *-un* that all become zero and are not pronounced. Example: *kitābun*, in full form, becomes *kitāb*. Also, the ending *-an* changes into *-ā*. The following feminine case endings: *-ata(n)*, *-atī(n)*, and *-atu(n)* will change into *-ah* (Yushmanov 1961:15). In the design of the *kitāb/kātib* utterances special attention was given to capturing the variations in their pronunciation in pause and full form since both styles are practised in literary standard Arabic in the Arab world today.

3. Material

This study is based on the words *kitāb*, book and *kātib*, writer. Suffixes and prefixes were attached to produce eight lexical items from the stems. In the process of adding the affixes the syllabic configurations and types were also changed as indicated on the following *kitāb kātib* in isolation chart.

<i>kitāb</i> (book)	<i>kātib</i> (writer)
1. <i>ki tāb</i> cv cvc	1. <i>kā tib</i> cṽ cvc
2. <i>ki tā bun</i> cv cṽ cvc	2. <i>kā ti bun</i> cṽ cv cvc
3. <i>'al ki tāb</i> cvc cv cṽc	3. <i>'al kā tib</i> cvc cṽ cvc
4. <i>'al ki tā bu</i> cvc cv cṽ cv	4. <i>'al kā ti bu</i> cvc cṽ cv cv

The experiment is controlled by using only *kitāb* and *kātib* as the basic stem components. In testing the suprasegmental features of the eight items the configuration and variation of the syllables created a controlled phonetic atmosphere.

4. Subjects

Six informants were asked to read a list of vocalized Arabic words. The speakers were instructed to read in *al-'arabiyya al-fuṣḥā* (standard literary Arabic), each item five times. The items were recorded on tapes and then transferred to disks. The speakers come from three different Arab countries — Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Morocco. They are all educated males and are identified as: SHA and SM (Iraq); SA and AZS (Saudi Arabia); and LH and MH (Morocco).¹

5. Procedure

Each one of the eight utterances of this production experiment was recorded five times by each speaker. The recordings were made by using a TEAC A-3440 tape recorder and a REALISTIC unidirectional dynamic microphone. The material was recorded on reel-to-reel tapes and then saved on three and one half micro floppy disks. From these disks the material was then filtered and digitized on the MacSpeech Lab II computer system that is designed by GW Instruments Software. Spectrograms (both broad and narrow bands) were generated from the waveforms of the different utterances. Also, spectrums of the segment energy envelope displays were produced from the waveforms. The segment energy displays of the tested utterances as well as the spectrograms of the sample waveforms were generated by using the MacSpeech Lab II. Measurements were made from broad band spectrograms, in milliseconds, for the duration of the entire utterance of each syllable and the duration of each vowel. The frequency of the successive syllables in each utterance was measured in Hertz (Hz) at the steady state of the vowel which is the nucleus of the syllable. This mode is obtained through the fundamental frequency (Fo) in the MacSpeech Lab II system where a horizontal wavy line appears. This Fo plot display of the spectrogram menu mode is the basis for the measurement of the frequency in the MacSpeech Lab II system. The Fo corresponds to the rate of the speaker's vocal cords vibration and the plot display of the Fo shows the variation of Fo with time. The MacSpeech Lab II system also allows measurement of the intensity unit. The measurement range scale runs from zero to 100.² The intensity basically corresponds to the amount of energy or effort expended by the speaker. Through the *spectrum command* of the MacSpeech Lab II system the user can obtain the *energy segment plot display* from the waveform of an utterance, going from the left to right on the screen, in the shape of varying peaks and valleys. The size of the plot display of the peaks and their heights depends on the amount of energy exerted in the execution of that particular syllable relative to the other syllables surrounding it in an utterance. Also, the size of the plot display depends on the number of syllables in the utterance being tested. A smaller number of syllables in an utterance shows more details than a larger number.

An information sheet was developed to record the measurements of:

¹ I would like to thank the speakers who participated and gave generously of their time to this study: Lahcen Haddad, Mohammad Hirci, Abdulrahman Al-Shamrani, Abdulaziz Alsebil and Shaker Mustafa.

² The values of the intensity unit measurements (from zero to 100) is the system used in this study. However, it can be converted into volts by squaring the intensity units. For example: 100 intensity units equals 10 volts. Also, the intensity unit measurements can be converted into amplitude display values.

1) duration, in milliseconds, that includes: a) the entire utterance, b) every syllable of the utterance and c) every vowel of the utterance; 2) frequency in Hertz of the steady state of the vowels of each syllable and 3) the intensity in volts of a) intensity unit of the steady state of every vowel of every syllable and b) the highest point of the intensity unit of every syllable with regard to the utterance.

The sheets were completed for every utterance of the production experiment for each of the six speakers engaged in this study. It is important to mention that measurements were made and recorded of only one token of the five utterances. Hand written notes on the sheets were made at the time of measurement of any unusual observations with regard to other tokens of the same utterance. Measurements were not made of the first and fifth token recordings. It was noted that these two tokens contain more discrepancies than the other three and therefore were not considered as the best items to represent the utterance under consideration. Through the experience of examining the material it was observed that the first utterance was pronounced with more emphasis relative to the rest of the items. Likewise the fifth, being the last, was spoken with less emphasis, particularly the last syllable or two of the utterance. This observation is more noticeable with the intensity measurements. Consequently, all of the recorded measurements of the selected tokens of each utterance were made of the second, third or fourth item. It should be emphasized here that the figures used throughout the research for the intensity measurements are only relative. These figures are valid when they indicate differences of the intensity unit among the different syllables of an utterance. They change with the volume of the recording not only with different speakers but even with the same speakers recorded at different times. Therefore, the value is not in the absolute figures reported here but rather in the relative differences that exist among the measurements of the intensity units of the syllables of an utterance.

Every informant pronounced each of the eight lexical items five times. This totalled 40 items chosen and tested for each speaker. Thus the total number of items tested for the production experiment is 240.

6. Structure of the Syllable

The normal domain of the placement of stress is the syllable. In this regard it becomes imperative to know the number and types of syllables that a lexical item contains. There are six possible syllable types in Arabic. The onset of each of these types always consists of a single consonant and the coda consists of zero, one or two consonants. The two consonant clusters or geminates occur only with lexical items in pause forms. The peak or nucleus of every syllable, that is the most prominent element of the syllable, is always represented by a long or short vowel. The six possible syllable types found in Arabic are:

- | | | |
|----------|--------|------------|
| (1) CV | /bi/ | "in, at" |
| (2) CV | /mā/ | "what" |
| (3) CVC | /min/ | "from" |
| (4) CVCC | /dars/ | "lesson" |
| (5) CVC | /bāb/ | "door" |
| (6) CVCC | /mārr/ | "passerby" |

The distribution and frequency of occurrence of the above syllable types vary considerably. The first three types occur more often than the last three. The most frequent type used is the CV and the least used is the CVCC (Al-Ani and May 1973:37-49; repr. 1978:113-125). The lexical items of the acoustic experiments of this study utilized only the first four syllable types mentioned above. The minimum number of syllables used is two and the maximum four. It is interesting to note that the syllable types CVCC and CVCC are not utilized in the configuration of the syllable arrangement of the items tested for this experiment. This is not unexpected as these two types occur only in pause form of lexical items or phrases that contain these types of syllables. Thus, they are limited in their distribution and do not occur in the phonological sequence of utterances initially or medially.

7. Acoustic Analysis

The acoustic analysis begins by examining the suprasegmental features. This is achieved by retrieving and saving on diskettes the Arabic utterances that were recorded by the different speakers. The utterances were filtered, digitized and then saved in the form of soundwaves on the MacSpeech Lab II computer either on the hard disk or on micro floppy disks. These soundwaves can be retrieved and analyzed for the various acoustic features of speech, whether segmentals or suprasegmentals. The soundwaves are "caused by actions of the speaker's vocal organs that are (for the most part) superimposed on the outgoing flow of lung air" (Ladefoged 1982:166).

The first step was to establish the point in time of the steady state for every syllable of each utterance from the broad band spectrograms. Normally the steady state for each syllable is represented in the lower formants of the vowel of each syllable. Data information tables were developed to record the measurement results. The aim was to measure the frequency, intensity, and duration of the individual syllables of every lexical item and phrase tested. A duration measurement was made for the entire utterance, for every syllable of the utterance, as well as the duration of measurement for each vowel. The measurement for the frequency was made at the steady state and also at the highest point at the peak of each syllable.

For every utterance five tokens were recorded for each speaker and examined individually. However, only one of the tokens was chosen for the measurements. A free hand sketch of the intensity unit plot display of the chosen utterance was drawn on the data information table.

The acoustic analysis deals with the main components of the investigation of stress accent and other related features. These include (1) stress/intensity, (2) pitch/frequency and (3) length/duration.

7.1 Stress and intensity

One of the powerful features of the MacSpeech Lab II's analysis capabilities is to retrieve the time waveforms that are already digitized and stored in the MacIntosh memory system, whether the utterances are saved on a hard disk or on micro floppy disk. This system allows the researcher to view, in high resolution displays, the energy envelope plots of the utterance under investigation. The measurements of the different syllable peaks are made in intensity units. The scale of the measurements ranges from zero to 100. The successive syllables on the energy envelope plots, starting from the left to right on the screen of the MacSpeech Lab II from which printouts can be

made, appear in the form of peaks and valleys with the peaks reflecting the highest intensity. It is to be understood that the highest peaks, reflecting the most energy, are associated with the stress syllables. Also, on the display plots, the peaks not only indicate the vertical volume of the exerted energy in each syllable but the relative horizontal dimension duration, of that particular syllable, in milliseconds as well.

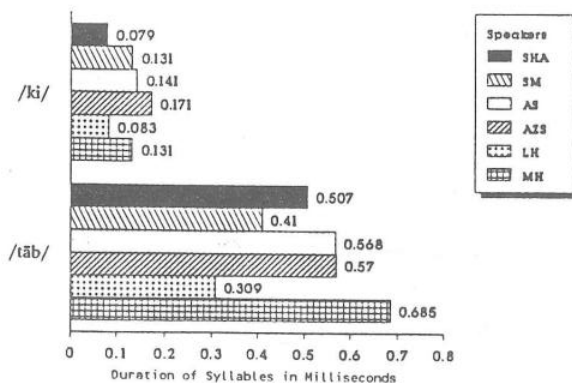
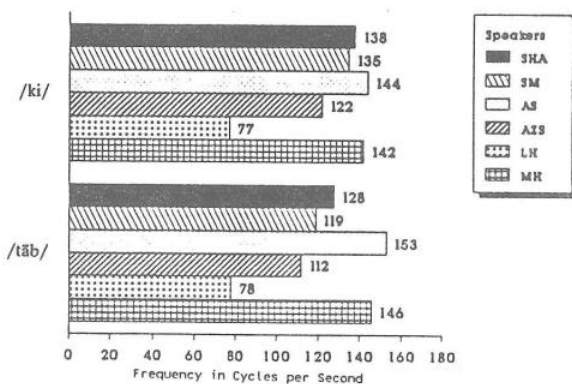
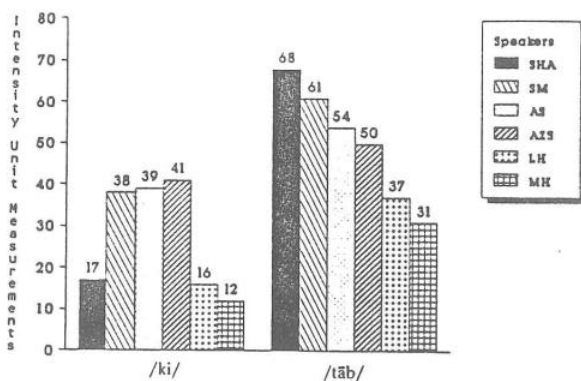
Two measurements were made of the intensity units of each syllable of the utterances in this study. The reason for making and recording two measurements, even though only one is reported here, was to be sure to capture the proper higher points of the syllable peaks. The results, reported below, of the measurements in intensity units are made at the steady state points obtained from the vowels of each syllable through the broad band spectrograms. Reference is made to the measurement of the highest point of the intensity of each syllable whenever there is a considerable difference between the two intensity unit measurements.

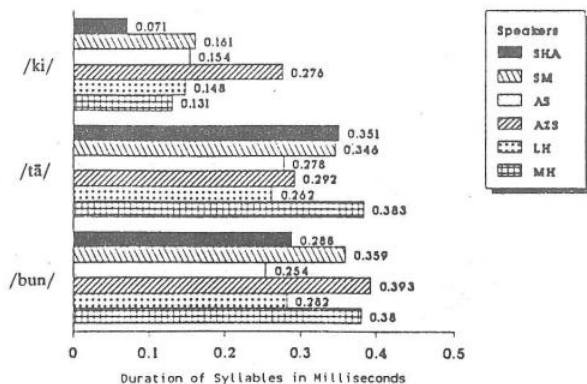
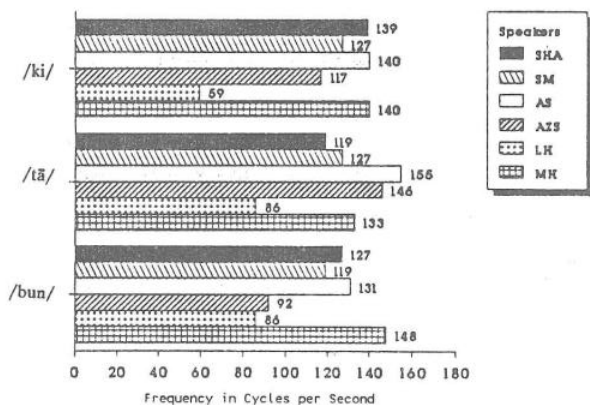
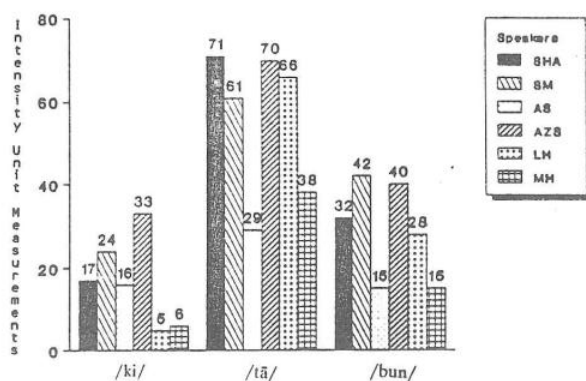
7.2 Pitch and frequency

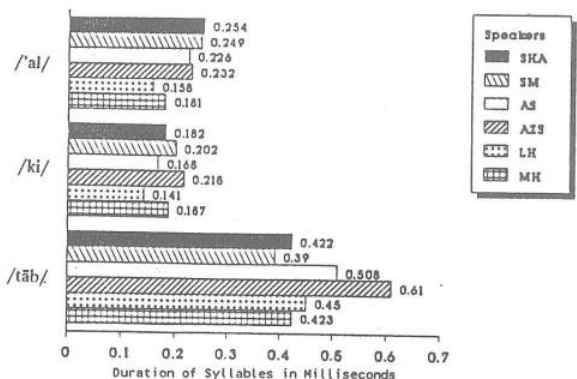
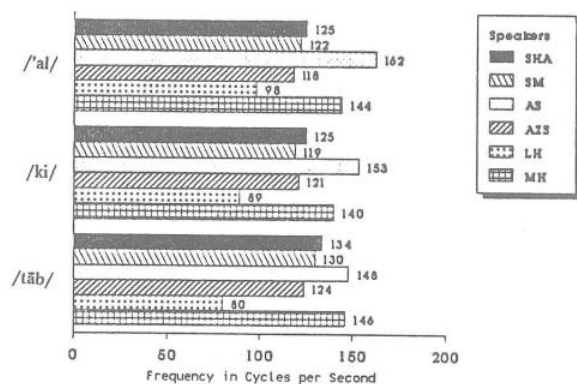
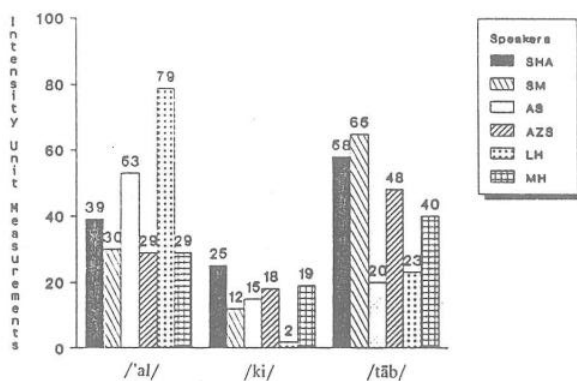
Frequency measurements were made for every syllable in Hertz at the steady state of the vowels of the utterances. Fundamental frequency (F_0) plots obtained through the spectrogram layouts of the MacSpeech Lab II system were generated for each utterance. The figures of the frequency measurements are not listed here. However, the measurements' results will be utilized in the analysis of the suprasegmental features of the production experiment utterances. This will be accomplished by comparing the F_0 of every syllable with the intensity measurements to ascertain whether the syllable that received the highest intensity unit also received the highest frequency measurement. Discrepancies, when a certain syllable in an utterance receives the highest intensity but does not receive the highest F_0 , will be discussed later.

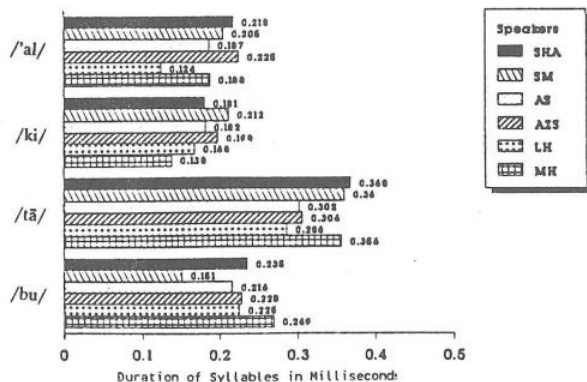
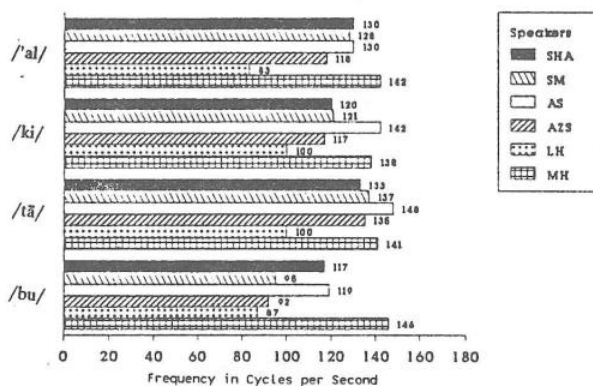
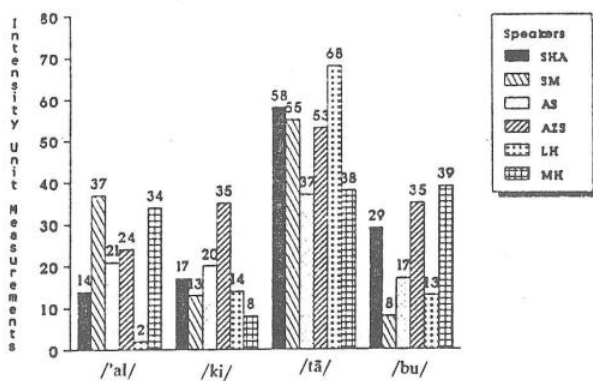
7.3 Length and duration

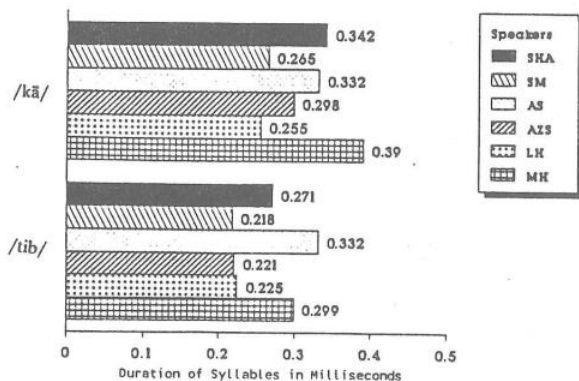
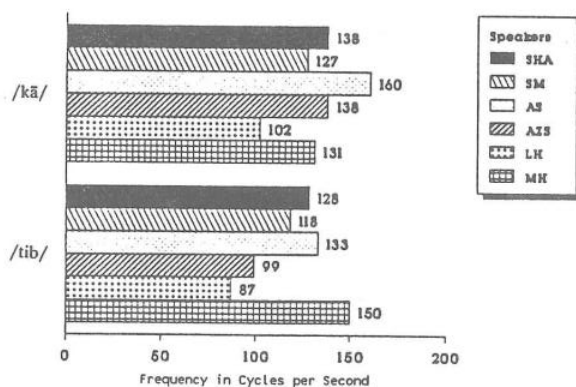
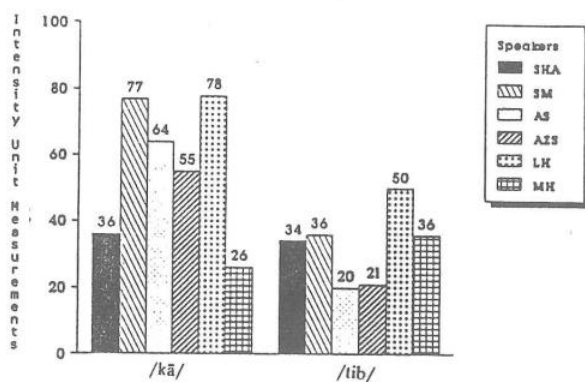
Measurements of the time duration were made, in milliseconds, for every utterance, for every syllable of each utterance and for every vowel of each syllable. Measurements of the duration were obtained from the broad band spectrogram plots. The figures for these measurements will not be listed here but will be used in the analysis.

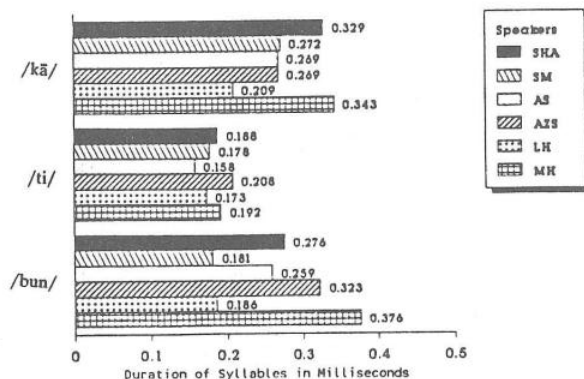
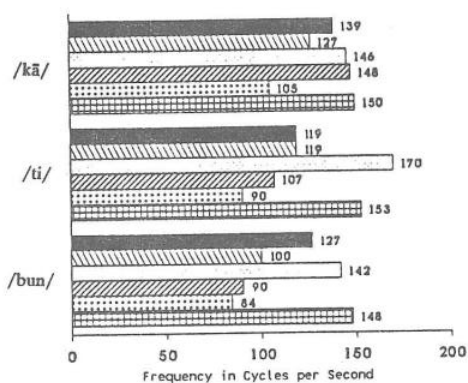
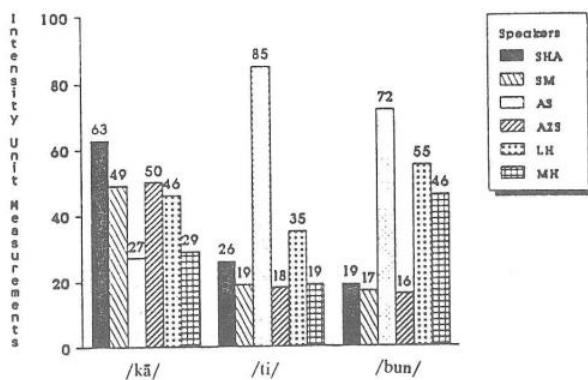


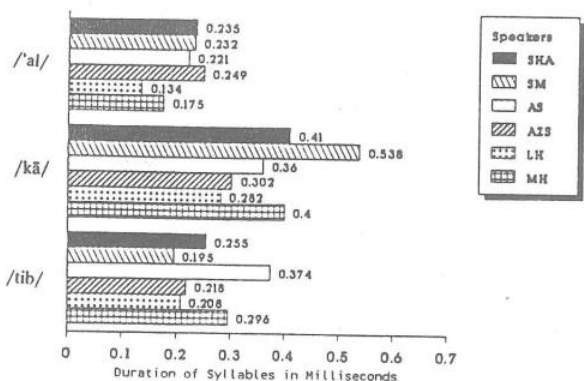
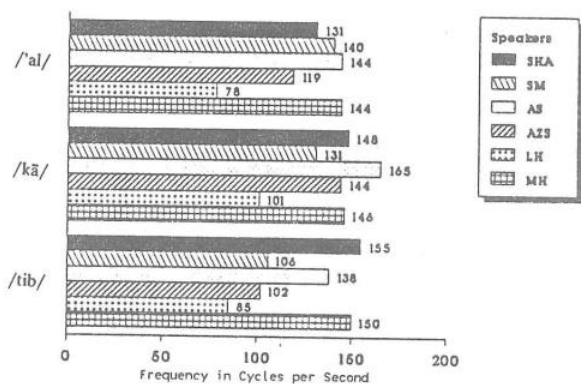
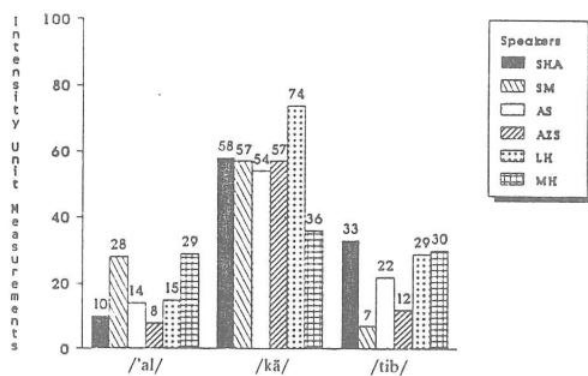


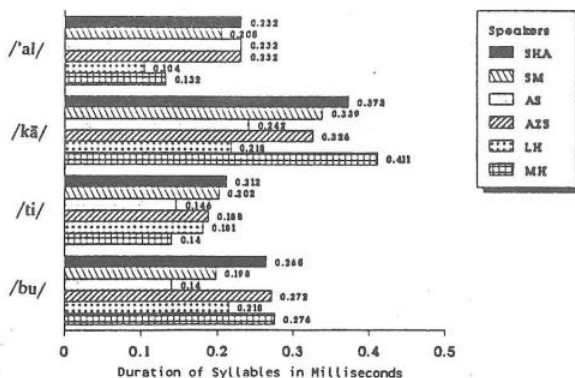
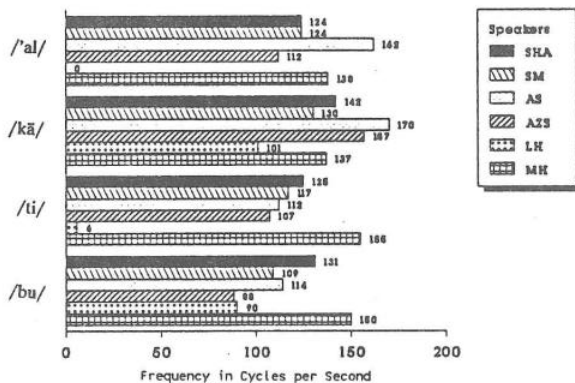
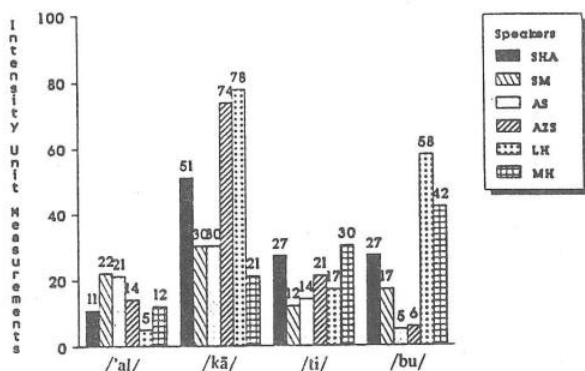












8. Interpretation of Graphs

The measurements of intensity, frequency and duration of the *kitāb/kātib* production experiment for the six speakers are presented graphically from pages fifteen through twenty-two. Every word of the eight different items of the experiment is shown with different columns identifying each speaker. For instance, the solid black column throughout the graphs represents speaker SHA. The figures at the top of the columns of the graphs reflect the actual measurements obtained from the waveforms produced by the MacSpeech Lab II system. It is recommended to identify the columns and match them with the keys provided next to them. The intensity columns are always shown vertically whereas the frequency and duration columns appear horizontally. The reader is advised to interpret the measurement information of the columns on each page both collectively and simultaneously. For instance, the graphs for the word *kitāb* on page 15 demonstrate graphically, in the form of columns, the intensity measurements for the six speakers. The columns reflect the personal characteristics and style of speaking, the mode of recording, the voice aspects, and possible other factors for each speaker. Thus, the variations reflected on the graphs are due to these factors.

The individual columns of the syllable *ki* in the word *kitāb*, for all six speakers, are lower than the columns of the syllable *tāb* despite the relative differences and variations that exist in each set of the columns of these two syllables. Also, the same analogy applies for the duration measurements for the word *kitāb*. The measurements, in milliseconds, of the syllable *ki* for the six speakers are relatively shorter than the duration of the syllable *tāb*. However, the measurements of the frequency exhibit more variation for the syllable *ki* for the six speakers, as apparent on the graph.

The graphs represent the core of the production experiment and should be the focus of interpretation of the data. The figures of the measurements for intensity, frequency and duration should not be taken as absolute but rather in a relative and comparative sense.

9. Summary of Results of the Production Experiment

9.1 Stress variation of *kitāb/kātib*

It is assumed that the syllable that receives the highest intensity and duration measurements in a lexical item is the stressed or accented syllable. However, frequency measurements do not seem to play as strong a role as the intensity and duration measurements. The syllable type and its distribution play a role in determining the primary stress placement. The experiment of this limited corpus reveals that the long syllables CV and CVC, in general, receive the highest intensity measurements. The one apparent exception and variation is speaker MH of Morocco who tends, in the majority of cases, to place the highest intensity on the last syllable.

9.1.1 Intensity

As it appears clearly on the graphs on pages 15-22, the long syllables CV̄ and CVC for the eight utterances of *kitāb/kātib* receive the highest intensity measurements for all six speakers except that in the lexical item *'alkitāb*, speakers AS and LH placed the highest intensity measurements on the first syllable, *'al*. Also, on the word

'*alkitābu*, speaker MH has about equal intensity measurements on the last two syllables. (See graph on page 18).

9.1.2 Duration

It is interesting and more revealing that the long syllables $\bar{C}\bar{V}$ and $\bar{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}$ also receive the highest duration measurements in milliseconds for the eight words of *kitāb/kātib*. The diversity among the speakers is almost minimal. The variations occur in *kitābun/kātibun* with one speaker, AZS of Saudi Arabia, who pronounced the last syllable, *bun*, longer in both words. Also, in *kātibun*, MH of Morocco made the last syllable, *bun*, longer.

9.1.3 Frequency

There is more variation among the six speakers with regard to the frequency measurements in the eight lexical items tested of *kitāb/kātib* than with the intensity and duration measurements. However, the long syllables of the types $\bar{C}\bar{V}$ and $\bar{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}$ are still favoured by receiving the highest frequencies with most of the speakers. The one striking exception is speaker MH of Morocco who places the highest frequency on the last syllable of every word but one, *kātibun*, where he placed it on the second syllable *tī*. The two speakers SHA and SM of Iraq placed the highest frequency on the long syllables in the majority of cases. There is more variation in the assignment of stress between AZS and AS of Saudi Arabia.

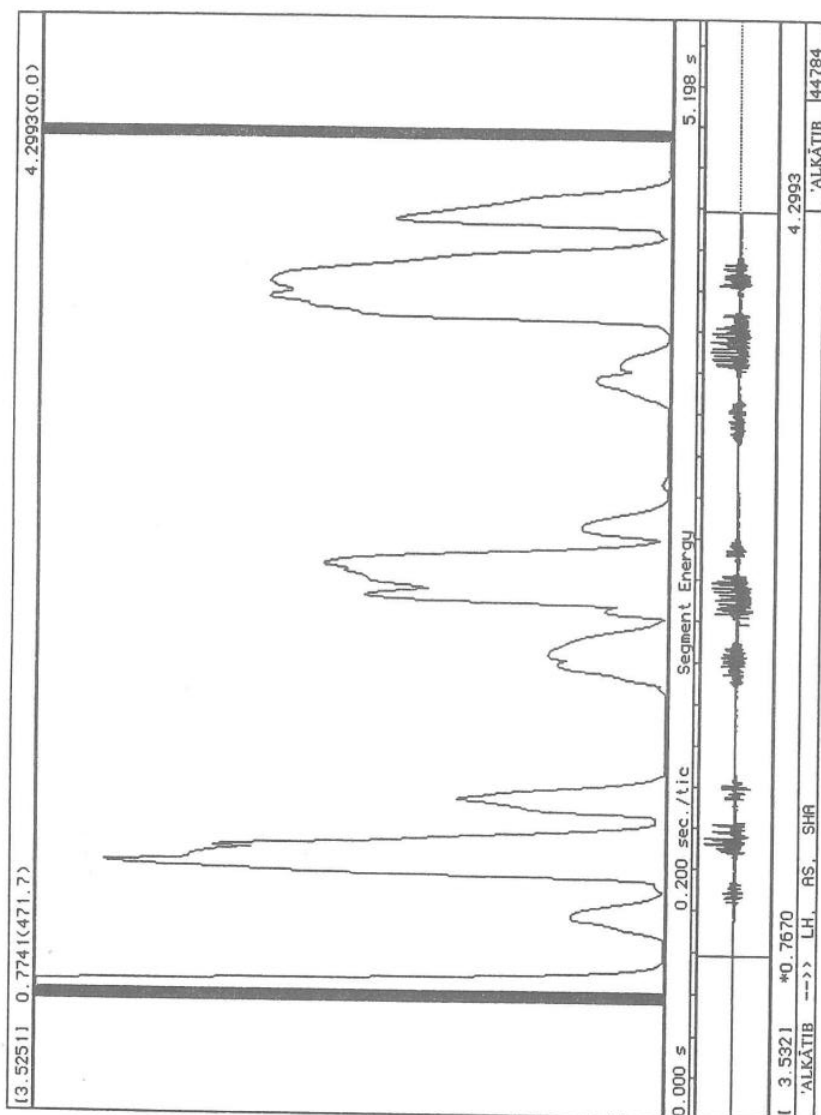
10. Previous Studies on Arabic Stress

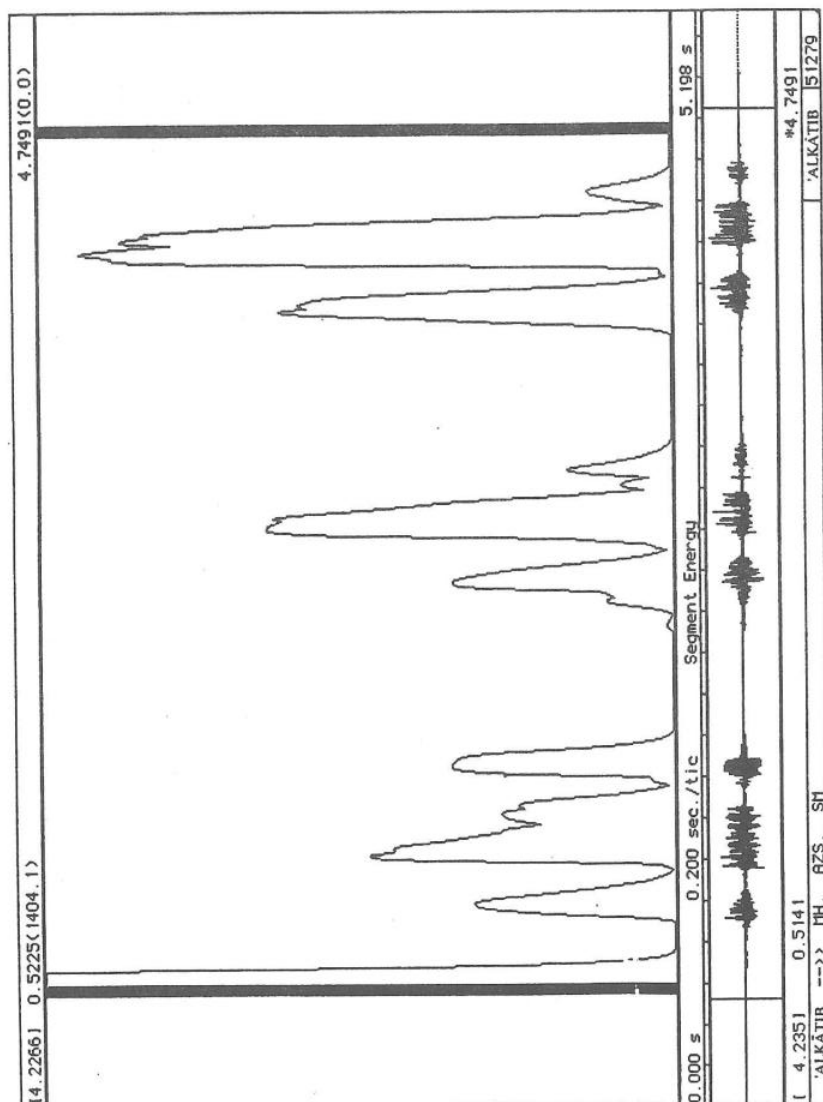
There are five studies that deal with the phenomenon of stress in Arabic. These are: *On Stress and Arabic Phonology* by Daud Abdo; *Arabic Phonology: An Acoustical and Physiological Investigation* by Salman H. Al-Ani; "Computer-Aided Comparative Study of Stress in Modern Standard Arabic" by Fatima Al-Khalifa and Yousif El-Imam; *al-'Aṣwāt al-luġawiyya* by 'Ibrāhīm 'Anīs and *al-Luġa al-'arabiyya: ma'nāhā wa-mabnāhā* by Tammām Hassān. The stress rules formulated for these studies were summarized in the article by Al-Khalifa and El-Imam. In their article, after summarizing the stress rules for the above authors, they presented reformulated stress rules for Arabic that are based on a computer analysis of voice intensity of one Kuwaiti informant.

The results of this production experiment, tentative as they are, confirm to a greater extent the main stress rules of Al-Khalifa and El-Imam. Future work, that this investigator is pursuing, will build on the initial and tentative results presented in this study.

11. Sample displays of the word '*alkātib* for the six speakers

These displays shows the intensity measurements for the six speakers involved in this production experiment. (See pages 25 and 26). The first display illustrates the word '*alkātib* for LH, AS and SHA. The second display also illustrates the word '*alkātib* for MH, AZS and SM. The middle peaks, that represent the syllable *kā*, are the highest for all of the speakers.





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L'EXPRESSION DE L'INCHOATIVITE EN ARABE

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Le terme "inchoatif" s'utilise de nos jours dans deux sens apparemment différents, quoique reliés tous les deux à la catégorie de l'aspect:

- 1 - en relation avec la phase du déroulement de l'événement, dans ce cas comme fonction des verbes dits "inchoatifs" (type "se mettre à")
- 2 - en relation avec la notion de changement d'un état à l'autre: cette notion peut être exprimée, en principe, par des moyens lexicaux, lexicogrammaticaux et grammaticaux.

Nous nous proposons de montrer que les deux sens ne peuvent pas être séparés, le deuxième impliquant le premier, ce qui fait qu'il y a aussi des interférences dans le plan de l'expression des deux notions en arabe, et pas seulement en arabe.

En ce qui concerne la manière d'envisager la segmentation de l'événement, et dans ce cadre, le statut de l'inchoatif, nous renvoyons à l'ouvrage de l'Alice F. Freed (1979) qui parle de trois segments temporels dénommés *onset*, *nucleus* et *coda*. Pour les nécessités de la discussion qui suit, nous allons présenter la définition donnée pour *onset* "commencement": "a temporal segment which takes place PRIOR to the initial temporal part of the nucleus of the event" (Freed 1979:31). Il s'agit, donc, du stage préparatoire d'un événement qui peut ensuite avoir ou ne pas avoir lieu: par exemple quelqu'un peut commencer à éternuer et ensuite, pour une raison ou une autre, ne pas éternuer.

En parlant de la catégorie du temps dans les langues sémitiques et de cette temporalité intérieure qu'on nomme "aspect", Marcel Cohen (1924:265) place *ġa'ala* [*yalūmuhu*] "il a commencé [à le blâmer]" sur une axe où il est précédé, sur une ligne discontinue, des verbes signifiant "avoir l'intention de", "être sur le point de" et suivi par des verbes signifiant "continuer" et "finir". Les notions exprimées par ces verbes seraient, selon lui, des "notions accessoires" qui "peuvent situer l'action dans une tranche minime du temps, soit définir un mode d'accomplissement qui implique une relation avec la durée". En ce qui concerne l'expression de ces notions, l'arabe ne présentera pas une situation particulière: "Il est à noter que, dans toutes les langues, certaines racines sont, par leur sens même, en relation avec la durée ou avec le moment (ainsi les verbes 'advenir', 'exister', 'demeurer', 'cesser', etc.; l'accompli et l'inaccompli dans ces verbes tendent à se situer dans le temps et fournissent souvent des auxiliaires à valeur temporelle" (Cohen 1924:54).

Selon le point de vue de H. Fleisch (1979:198) l'existence en arabe de nombreux verbes qui ont pour fonction de signaler les différentes phases du déroulement des événements a des conséquences importantes pour le système de la langue: bien plus, "c'est tout le mode de pensée qui est affecté". Parmi les moyens d'expression de cette "temporalité intérieure", les verbes liés à l'idée de commencement sont les plus nombreux. La liste fournie par Fleisch reprend en partie celle de Wright (1896-98: II, 108-9) qui utilise, à son tour, les matériaux présentés par les grammairiens arabes anciens. Les trois catégories de verbes, souvent groupées ensemble par les grammairiens arabes sont:

- (A) les verbes de "commencement" ('*af'ālu š-šurī'i wa-l-'inšā'i*)
'ahāda, ḡa'ala, šara'a, ṭafīqa (rarement *ṭafaqa* et *ṭabīqa*), '*aliqa, 'aqbala, qāma, 'anša'a, habba*
- (B) les verbes de "transformation" et de "devenir" ("change" ou "conversion" dans Wright)
šāra, 'āda, raḡa'a, 'āḡa, qa'ada, ḡā'a, 'atā, ḥaraḡa
 avec une sous-catégorie (B') qui comporte à l'origine l'idée de "être" ou de "faire quelque chose" à un certain moment de la journée.
- (B') *'asfara* "être" ou "faire quelque chose" à l'aube
ḡadā "être" ou "faire quelque chose" le matin
'asbaḥa "être" ou "faire quelque chose" le matin
'aḡḥā "être" ou "faire quelque chose" en plein jour, avant midi
'amsā "être" ou "faire quelque chose" le soir
rāḥa "être" ou "faire quelque chose" le soir
bāta "être" ou "faire quelque chose" pendant la nuit
- (C) les verbes de "proximité"
kāda, 'awšaka, karaba
 moins utilisés: *halhala, 'alamma, hamma, 'arāda.*

A notre avis c'est le trait "inchoatif" conçu comme passage d'un état à l'autre, comme "devenir", qui justifie le groupement des verbes mentionnés surtout à (A), (B), (B') et d'autres qui leurs sont apparentés. C'est ce trait aussi qui explique les interférences entre les catégories par exemple dans: *šāra yaf'ālu* "il a commencé à faire" et *šāra malik^{an}* "il est devenu roi" - *šāra* exprime l'inchoativité. L'absence de *bada'a* "créer", "commencer", de la liste des "verbes de commencement" fournie par les grammairiens arabes nous signale qu'il s'agit des verbes qui ne sont pas utilisés dans leur sens référentiel, mais qui sont devenus une sorte d'auxiliaires pour exprimer le "devenir" à partir d'autres significations, par une métaphore. On peut remarquer que l'arabe conceptualise l'idée d'inchoativité à partir de deux significations de base: une liée à l'espace et une autre liée au temps. Les verbes de (A) et (B) et d'autres qui peuvent y être ajoutés sont *tous* des verbes de mouvement, tandis que les verbes de (B') sont *tous* liés à l'origine à une idée de temps. Le problème qui se pose est dans quelle mesure la signification initiale justifie la souscatégorisation des verbes mentionnés et jusqu'à quel point cette signification joue encore dans les nuances sémantiques que ces verbes arrivent à exprimer. Les verbes de mouvement mentionnés en (A) et (B) présentent les caractéristiques communes aux verbes de mouvement - c'est-à-dire, le déplacement d'un lieu à l'autre, le changement de position ou de location d'un thème qui n'est pas obligatoirement le sujet de la proposition - et quelques traits propres à chaque catégorie sans pouvoir dire que cela se vérifie dans chaque cas; les verbes (A) ont plutôt tendance à exprimer la relation avec le point de départ (type "partir") et les verbes (B) la relation avec le point d'arrivée (type "venir") et souvent la coïncidence du point de départ et du point d'arrivée (type "revenir"). Il y a un composant déictique dans les verbes du type "partir" et "venir" (Fillmore:1966) qui explique leur utilisation pour exprimer le "commencement" et le "devenir", c'est-à-dire des catégories apparentées qui présentent l'inchoativité dans une perspective légèrement différente: dans le premier cas, projetée vers l'avenir et dans le second comme résultat du passé: en simplifiant

les choses, pour les verbes de (A) quelque chose part d'*ici* pour arriver dans l'avenir, tandis que pour (B) quelque chose vient de *là*, du passé, pour arriver ici, en ce moment. Nous n'avons pas toujours la possibilité de suivre cette relation dans des paires de verbes, mais celles que nous indiquons au (D) nous semblent confirmer cette constatation.

- (D) *rāḥa, inṭalaqa* "partir", "commencer" vs. *'atā et ḡā'a* "venir", "devenir"
qāma "se mettre debout", "commencer" vs. *qa'ada* "s'asseoir", "devenir"

Nous n'avons pas mentionné ni *rāḥa* ni *inṭalaqa* parmi les verbes de (A) parce que Wright ne les mentionne pas (*rāḥa* apparaît en B') mais selon nos propres constatations *rāḥa*, (qui est devenu verbe exprimant le mouvement en général après avoir exprimé le déplacement au soir, et a connu, en cette nouvelle qualité, une grande fortune dans les dialectes parlés), est relativement fréquent comme verbe de commencement dans la langue littéraire moderne et *inṭalaqa*, plus récemment devenu verbe de commencement est plus fréquent encore: la prose de Zakariyyā' Tāmir (*Dimašq*), assez riche en inchoatifs, vu le dynamisme de son style, l'utilise souvent.

Les verbes *ḡā'a* et *'atā* peuvent exprimer l'inchoativité dans:

- (1) *ḡā'a ('atā) l-binā'u muḥkam^{am}* (Wright 1896-98: II, 103)

- (1') La construction est devenue solide.

Parmi les verbes exprimant le "devenir" il y a quatre au moins qui expriment à l'origine l'idée de "revenir" (voir B'). Ibn Fāris (*Šāḥibī*, 266) considère ce type de constructions comme propre à l'arabe parce qu'elle utilise, dit-il, des verbes signifiant "revenir" pour l'aboutissement à un état qui n'existait pas auparavant:

- (2) *yaqūlūna: 'āda fulān^{am} šayh^{am}, wa-huwa lam yakun šayh^{am} qaṭṭu wa-'āda l-mā'u 'āḡin^{am} wa-huwa lam yakun 'āḡin^{am} fa-ya'ūdu*

- (2') On dit: quelqu'un est revenu (=devenu) vieux, et il n'a jamais été vieux et l'eau est revenue (devenu) altérée sans avoir été altérée auparavant.

Le Coran même est cité par Ibn Fāris pour cette utilisation de *'āda*

- (3) *ḥattā 'āda ka-l-'urḡūni l-qadīm*

- (3') Jusqu'à ce qu'il soit revenu (devenu) comme un vieux rameau de palmier (Q. 39.36)

A notre point de vue, il s'agit ici d'un trait sémantique des verbes du type "revenir" qui doit être pris en considération pour expliquer leur utilisation en tant qu'inchoatifs: la coïncidence du point initial avec le point final du déplacement, ne les caractérisent pas suffisamment parce qu'on aboutit (de nouveau) à un point après avoir parcouru un trajet: ce sont, donc, des résultatifs et c'est en cette qualité qu'ils expriment le "devenir". Il faut remarquer, d'ailleurs, que la tournure négative de *'āda* est utilisée pour exprimer une cessation (d'activité, d'état) marquée elle aussi par le "devenir": en français "ne... plus":

- (4) (...) *'id lam ya'ud al-'ālamu l-ḥadīṭ yaqbalu 'an takūna ḥunālika zāwiya^{am} fīhī lā tata'āmalu bi-n-naqdi wa-lā ta'rīfu qānūna l-'arḍi wa-t-ṭalabi wa-l-munāfasa*

- (4') (...) parce que le monde moderne n'accepte plus d'y avoir un coin qui n'utilise pas la monnaie et qui ne connaît pas la loi de l'offre et de la demande et de la concurrence.

L'expression de l'inchoativité par des auxiliaires qui sont à l'origine des verbes de mouvement n'est pas propre à l'arabe. Non seulement les langues qui nous sont familières utilisent des verbes ayant une signification semblable: "se mettre à", "come [to know]" etc. - mais aussi des langues comme le chinois et le japonais font appel à la même catégorie de verbes. L'inchoatif fait partie du grand champ sémantique de l'existence, le plus étendu, le plus abstrait. R. Jackendoff (1983:202-3) remarque que les expressions: "be in existence", "be out of existence", "come into existence", "go out of existence", "stay in existence", "bring into existence", "keep in existence" et les verbes "exist", "persist", "create", "destroy" qui sont des lexicalisations de certains des verbes mentionnés, prouvent que "even in this maximally limited field the use of spatial language seems inevitable".

Kāna lui-même, présenté d'habitude comme le plus général des verbes exprimant l'existence en arabe, peut-être lié à une racine signifiant "se mettre debout" (le même sens que *qāma*, donc). Bravmann qui fait cette remarque à propos de *kāna* (1953:149) trouve des traces de ce sens primaire dans *makān* qui dérive, selon son opinion de "to stand" et non pas de "to be". Mais en arabe *kāna* est conçu comme inchoatif et paraphrasé par *ḥuliqa* "il a été créé" comme le montre bien Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 21) et la définition citée par Bravmann (1953:76) d'al-Ġawharī (*Ṣiḥāḥ* II, 404) où *kāna* "plein" dans *muḍ kāna* équivaut à *ḥuliqa*. Même si ces remarques peuvent nous apparaître comme le fruit des spéculations des grammairiens arabes, soucieux de ne pas laisser sans mention le commencement absolu, il n'est pas moins vrai que *kāna* n'apparaît avec son sens plein que dans la forme à suffixes, donc celle qui exprime le dynamisme de l'être: dès qu'il apparaît conjugué à la forme à préfixes, il exprime plutôt la possibilité.

Il est admis que les verbes "types" pour l'expression du devenir sont ceux dont la signification est liée à un certain moment de la journée (B'). Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* II, 21) présente *ʿaṣbaḥa* et *ʿamsā* comme ayant tantôt le statut de *kāna*, tantôt le statut de *istayqazū* "ils se sont réveillés" ou *nāmū* "ils se sont endormis". Le passage du sommeil à l'état d'éveil et inversement est, sans doute, un modèle capable de rendre compte de l'idée de commencement relatif, d'une existence qui porte en soi les marques du "devenir". S'il en est ainsi, on peut concevoir les autres verbes de la même catégorie (*adḥā*, *bāta* etc.) comme étant construits sur le modèle de ces inchoatifs. Mais il se peut que *rāḥa* offre lui aussi un modèle par sa signification de "partir" ou "arriver" le soir et dans ce cas on est toujours dans le champ sémantique du mouvement.

L'inchoativité exprimée par ces verbes peut être interprétée de deux manières différentes selon le verbe qui suit, selon le contexte: soit le résultat rendu dans la traduction par "il est arrivé à", soit le commencement. La première interprétation nous semble prévaloir, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de l'évolution des choses vers le pire.

- (5) *hādhihi l-masʿalatu yatakarranū tarkuhā fī nihāyati kulli mawsimin masraḥiyyin*
ʾilā l-ḥaddi llaḍī ʿasbahā nahṣā fīhi mina t-tikrāri l-mumillī
- (5') Ce problème se pose de nouveau à chaque fin de saison théâtrale, si bien que nous sommes arrivés à craindre une répétition ennuyeuse.

Avec la forme négative du verbe suivant, ces auxiliaires marquent l'arrêt ou la cessation dans la perspective du "devenir", de la même manière que *mā ʿāda - lam yaʿud*.

- (6) 'aṣḥaḥat 'ahādīti laki tiḥlat^m lā taladdu laki l-'āna (Cantarino 1975:III, 256)
 (6') Les histoires que je te racontais lorsque tu étais petite ne te plaisent plus maintenant.

Le résultatif se trouve dans le proche voisinage du "commencement" et tous les deux sont subsumés par l'inchoativité (c'est l'idée de statif qui leur est opposée). C'est peut-être, à cause de cela qu'on trouve si peu de verbes qui expriment en tant qu'auxiliaires l'idée de final-résultatif (contrairement à l'inchoatif): Fleisich (1979:199) se contente d'en mentionner *farāḡa min* "finir".

Les auxiliaires inchoatifs portent en eux quelques traces de leur signification primaire. On peut dire, par exemple, que les verbes liés par leur signification au soir et à la nuit (*'amsā* et *bāta*) sont plus aptes à rendre le sens d'une évolution vers quelque chose de mauvais, de difficile (Anghelescu 1981:122-3).

- (7) *al-ḥayātu 'amsat mu'aqqadar^m fi 'aṣrinā ḥādā*
 (7') La vie est devenue compliquée à notre époque.
 (8) *wa-ḥākaḍā bitnā nuḥīlu 'alā r-rafiq al-qā'id muḥimmātina naḥnu li-natafaḡḡara ma'a l-'asaf 'ilā muḥimmāt^m 'uḥrā lā ṣilata lahā 'itlāq^m bi-mas'ūliyyātina.*
 (8') De cette manière, nous en sommes arrivés à abandonner au camarade le président nos propres tâches pour nous consacrer à d'autres, qui n'avaient aucune relation avec nos responsabilités.

Il faut souligner qu'il s'agit plutôt d'une tendance, parce que chez Z. Tāmīr par exemple "la fille devient belle" est rendu par *'amsat*.

Parmi les verbes inchoatifs exprimant à l'origine le mouvement il y en a qui gardent quelques traces de leur origine quant au type de mouvement qu'ils expriment: *habba*, *bādura*, *inṭalaqa* se réfèrent à un changement rapide, tandis que *ḡā'ala*, par exemple, est plus neutre de ce point de vue.

Tout aussi comme dans d'autres langues, les éléments adverbiaux ou d'autres éléments du contexte peuvent rendre compte d'un certain type d'inchoativité: *faḡar^m* "soudain" et *ṣay^m fa-ṣay^m* "peu à peu" peuvent être considérés comme appartenant à cette catégorie d'éléments, de même que *ḥattā*, qui indique une limite dans l'espace, peut indiquer aussi une limite dans le temps à partir de laquelle commence le changement (c'est plutôt de cette manière que *ḥattā* doit être interprétée, et non pas comme marque spéciale de la fin de l'action, comme le prétend Fleisch [1979:199]).

Ce sont les structures *'idā bi* et *'id* ayant pour fonction d'exprimer *al-muṣāḡa'a* "la surprise" selon les grammairiens arabes qui rendent un certain type d'inchoativité, même en l'absence du verbe, pour *'idā bi*. Il s'agit des présentatifs dont l'origine déictique est évidente, que nous traduisons souvent en français par "voilà" (constitué, lui aussi, ne l'oublions pas, de "vois" et de "là") et qui signalent le passage rapide d'un état à l'autre ou, surtout pour *'idā bi*, une sensation qui apparaît soudain. Ibn Hišām (*Muḡni* I, 91) nous rapporte l'opinion de Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥayyāt selon lequel *'idā* serait un adverbe (*zarf*) contenant le sens de *waḡadtu* "j'ai trouvé" et *ra'aytu* "j'ai vu" (c'est pour cela qu'il peut avoir un complément à l'accusatif, dit-il: c'est sa réponse à la fameuse "*al-mas'alatu z-zunbiriyya*").

Il y a d'autres structures qui servent à exprimer en arabe ce passage rapide d'un état à l'autre, par exemple *mā 'in ... 'illā* et *mā + verbes de sensation* ('*alima, wağada, ra'ā, lāqā*) ... '*illā*, que Fleisch (1957:181) nous exhorte à ne pas essayer à traduire "en propre". Toutes ces structures que le français peut rendre par "à peine ... que" nous semblent situer l'événement dans cette tranche minime de temps que A. Freed nomme *onset* (voir supra). C'est, selon notre opinion, la tranche où les verbes de commencement se rencontrent avec les verbes de proximité et c'est à cause de cela qu'on trouve des éléments communs aux deux groupes (*hamma, 'aliqa* et même inchoatif lexical '*ağhaša* [ft l-bukā'i]).

Quant à la présence d'éléments communs entre l'inchoatif et le causatif (*ğā'ala* et *tafiqa*: voir *ğā'ala yaḥimuhu* "il a commencé [à le blâmer]" vs. *ğā'alahu yaḥ'alu* "il l'a fait faire") elle s'explique par la parenté sémantique entre les deux notions, parenté dont les langues rendent compte par divers moyens, quelquefois semblables à ceux utilisés par l'arabe (l'utilisation d'un verbe équivalent à *ğā'ala* "mettre" comme inchoatif et comme causatif en roumain: "a [sc] punc pe" "[sc] mettre [à]" est un bon exemple).

Nous avons traité jusqu'ici le problème de l'inchoativité surtout dans une perspective sémantique: c'est à cause de cela que nous ne sommes intéressés qu'en passant à la construction de ces verbes, de leurs compléments. Les grammairiens arabes ont accordé beaucoup d'attention à leur syntaxe, signalant, par exemple, la construction directe des verbes de "commencement" (*ğā'ala yaḥ'alu*) vs. la construction avec '*an* (mais aussi sans '*an*) des verbes de "proximité" (*kāda 'an yaḥ'ala* "il est prêt à tomber"). Mais ce qui attire surtout notre attention dans leur analyse est qu'ils considèrent les "soeurs de *kāna*", "les soeurs de *kāda*" et les "verbes de commencement" comme des éléments venant se superposer à un énoncé considéré comme préexistant. Cela veut dire, selon notre opinion, qu'il s'agit d'éléments qui introduisent un certain dynamisme dans un énoncé qui ne le possédait pas auparavant. Comme nous l'avons déjà montré (Angheliescu 1988:347), l'arabe dispose également d'autres moyens pour exprimer l'inchoativité, mais il est difficile de distinguer ce qu'il y a de lexical et de grammatical dans cette expression. Avec les classes d'inchoatifs mentionnées à (A), (B), (B') nous sommes, peut-être, plus proches de la grammaire parce qu'il y a une remarquable unité dans le passage du locatif et du temporel vers l'expression des idées abstraites d'existence et de devenir.

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LA FORME DU SENS: LE CAS DU NOM ET LE MODE DU VERBE^{*}

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Un concept est central dans le Livre:¹ Le concept de *'amal*, traduit communément par gouvernement, rection, ou opération.² C'est là, à vrai dire, un fait avant d'être une analyse théorique: La théorie dont ce concept est le noyau³ forme l'épine dorsale des analyses décrivant les rapports des éléments linguistiques dans le Livre.⁴ On s'en convainc aisément par un examen, même hâtif, des énoncés des têtes de chapitres. Plus du tiers des têtes de chapitres du Tome I de Derenbourg sont consacrés nommément à cet effet. Les recensions faites par Troupeau dans le corps du texte sont encore plus imposantes.⁵ Laissons-là, néanmoins, les chiffres et les nombres. L'essentiel est ailleurs. Il est dans la détermination du statut linguistique de cette théorie: Comment s'inscrit-elle dans l'ensemble des théories du Livre? Que dit-elle exactement sur la langue, cette langue-ci, l'arabe, que le Livre prend pour objet? Que peut-elle nous enseigner sur le langage? Que dit-elle, enfin, sur la nature de la théorie grammaticale dont elle forme une pièce maîtresse? On le sait, le Livre s'ouvre sur une épître dont le premier chapitre a pour propos de distinguer entre le nom, le verbe et la particule [c.1]. La première proposition du Livre énonce donc une propriété importante de la langue, la propriété de divisibilité en unités discrètes, là les parties du discours.⁶ Mais cette proposition revient aussi implicitement à soutenir une thèse d'hétérogénéité, à affirmer que dans la langue, il y a du dissemblable et de l'hétérogène.

En effet, les séquences de sons ne sont pas analysables de manière identique. On y discerne des catégories irréductibles les unes aux autres. Cette irréductibilité

^{*} Il y a exactement douze siècles, disent la légende et les livres de biographie, en 791 ou peut-être à quelque date ultérieure était décédé Sibawayhi, auteur du Livre dont nous aurons à parler dans tout ce travail. L'année 1991 fut, en Occident, l'année des commémorations, celle d'une grande figure de la musique: Mozart, mort en 1791. Le calendrier rapproche ces deux figures: Tous deux grands en leur domaine, tous deux morts jeunes. Je voudrai dédier cette communication à ce grand linguiste arabe.

¹ Tout au long de ce texte, Livre avec un L majuscule désignera le *Kitāb* de Sibawayhi. Il sera cité par deux chiffres séparés par un point. Le premier indique le numéro de la page dans l'édition de Derenbourg, le second le numéro de la ligne. Toutes les références renvoient au tome I.

² On abordera ultérieurement la question de la traduction eu égard à la valeur linguistique du concept. J'adopte moi-même le premier terme pour faciliter la lisibilité de l'exposé.

³ On peut isoler un ensemble de concepts dans le Livre en étroite relation avec le concept de *'amal*, nommément *'rāb*, *raf*, *naṣb*, *ḡarr*, *'awḏḥir al-kalim*, *ḡazm*, *'āmil*, *ma'mūl*, etc. C'est l'ensemble des propositions formulées à l'aide de ces concepts que l'on désignera ici par théorie.

⁴ Ceux, du moins, que nous disons relever de la syntaxe.

⁵ Selon Troupeau 1976, les mots dérivés de la racine *'ml* dans le sens qui nous concerne ont plus de 457 occurrences. Sans compter les occurrences de *rf* (plus de 800), de *nṣb*, etc.

⁶ D'autres propositions énoncent cette propriété de manière plus directe. Nous les laissons ici de côté.

la première relève du *'amal*. En somme, la matérialité de la langue ne s'épuise pas dans le phonétique. Mais en quoi les particules affectent-elles le verbe de la même manière que les verbes affectent le nom ou qu'un nom affecte un autre nom? Des notions sémantiques ne semblent point, de prime abord, d'aucun secours. Il est, dès lors, courant d'opposer la théorie du *'amal* comprise comme théorie de la forme au sens et de regretter, en conséquence, cet excès d'attention au formel, voire ce formalisme, ce peu d'intérêt pour le sens manifesté par le Livre et, à sa suite, par toute la tradition grammaticale arabe. Cette thèse est un pilier essentiel de nombre d'études sur l'histoire de la grammaire arabe, tant en Orient que dans les études occidentales, les thèses récentes sur ce sujet ne faisant souvent que traduire dans la langue des savoirs contemporains les idées des philologues. Elle a pour corollaire l'idée que la tradition grammaticale arabe ne s'est guère intéressée à l'étude sémantique du système verbal. On citera, pour ce qui est des études françaises, l'opinion de Fleisch dans son "Traité de philologie": "... [la] manière de travailler [des grammairiens arabes] les maintenait à la surface des faits, dans des explications d'une manière générale attachées à la forme, négligeant l'exposé des fonctions". Et, en note, Fleisch fonde son opinion sur la question de la flexion du nom et du verbe: "Par exemple, le *maṣfū'* est le mot qui reçoit -u, nom ou verbe; le *maṣṣūb* le mot qui reçoit -a, nom ou verbe. Cet *ṣ'arāb* est ainsi appliqué matériellement au nom et au verbe, sans partir des fonctions où il aurait fallu nécessairement distinguer entre nom et verbe" (Fleisch, 1961:46). Ailleurs, après avoir exposé le rapprochement que fait la tradition entre nom et verbe à préfixes, Fleisch conclut en dénonçant cet "emploi outrancier de l'analogie" comme "construction artificielle et arbitraire" (1961:16). Si on se reporte aux travaux récents, on entend des échos similaires. Ce sont les mêmes questions du gouvernement du verbe et de la similitude entre le verbe à préfixes et le participe actif qui sont reprises dans Bohas, Guillaume, Kouloughli, 1990 (désormais BGK), pour affirmer "The Arabic tradition's lack of interest in the semantics of the verbal system, which was never approached in a systematic way" (BGK 1990:55).

On trouvera une résonnance particulière de la thèse courante dans le propos de ce dernier ouvrage. Non seulement la thèse de la dissociation entre la théorie du gouvernement comprise comme étude purement formelle et de peu d'intérêt et l'étude du sens y est prise pour axiome, mais elle détermine l'historisation même de la pensée grammaticale arabe, les ruptures qu'on y voit, etc. Aussi l'ouvrage distingue-t-il entre une "approche énonciative de la syntaxe" qui serait celle de Šībawayhi et une approche formelle qui serait celle des grammairiens de la période classique. La première analyserait les séquences en termes d'opérations effectuées par le locuteur en vue de produire un effet sur l'allocutaire; La seconde les analyserait en termes de relations formelles entre leurs éléments.⁹ Ailleurs, le texte parle d'une dichotomie entre deux modèles, un modèle de gouvernement et un modèle prédicatif, que la période classique aurait cristallisés sur les deux écoles grammati-

⁹ Cette distinction est même projetée sur toute l'histoire des grammaires puisque l'ouvrage distingue les systèmes linguistiques selon une typologie qui les diviserait tous en deux classes, celles-là mêmes distinguées pour la grammaire arabe. Il n'est pas hasardeux d'avancer que c'est là une typologie trop simple pour rendre compte de la variété et de la richesse des modèles grammaticaux établis dans l'histoire afin de comprendre les langues que parlent les hommes.

cales de Kūfa et de Bašra.¹⁰ Quant au système d'analyse de Šibawayhi qui relève de notre propos actuel, il présupposerait que tout énoncé est le résultat final d'un ensemble d'opérations effectuées par le locuteur, chacune de ces opérations étant simultanément et indissociablement formelle et sémantique.¹¹

Tout le problème certes est ce que l'on entend par forme et sens. Dans le Livre, les considérations sémantiques sont celles, nous dit-on, relatives à l'intention du locuteur, les considérations formelles celles relatives à la théorie du gouvernement.¹² Et enfin, c'est le locuteur lui-même qui opère la "jonction" entre la forme et le sens, puisque c'est en fonction de ces intentions qu'il fait gouverner les gouverneurs.¹³ Chacune de ces propositions prête à discussion. Elles se heurtent déjà à une objection théorique: Si toutes les opérations qu'on peut déceler dans un énoncé sont effectuées par le locuteur, la syntaxe "cesserait instantanément d'être", pour reprendre une expression de Saussure. Cette thèse, qui rapporte ainsi terme à terme langue (opérations syntaxiques) et monde (locuteur) rappelle, en effet, celle, dénoncée par Saussure, selon laquelle les objets seraient les termes sur lesquels se fixeraient les signes.¹⁴ Le Livre, au reste, ne soutient aucunement une thèse semblable. Des principes grammaticaux règlent les opérations, sans intervention du locuteur (voir section 1). L'intervention même de celui-ci se négocie d'une manière bien spécifique, on le verra plus bas (sections 3.2., 3.3. et 4).

C'est bien la relation de la forme au sens qu'il faut repenser de manière plus radicale pour entendre le propos du Livre. En effet, même les analyses qui perçoivent l'aspect cardinal de la théorie du gouvernement, telles celles d'Owens 1988 et 1990, restent en un certain sens tributaires de ce postulat premier relatif à la connexion gouvernement/forme: Elles passent sous silence la portée de cette théorie pour ce qui est des valeurs modales. On tentera de montrer ici que l'hypothèse d'homogénéité n'est, en effet, possible à soutenir que si l'on soutient que la langue est forme. La notion de "forme" doit, néanmoins, être entendue au sens que lui conférait Saussure dans sa célèbre proposition. L'opposition pertinente pour entendre les propos du Livre dans leur juste résonance n'est point forme/sens, mais forme/substance: Le sens lui-même se prête à la forme. Ou, dit autrement, le formel dans le Livre inclut, à la fois, le syntaxique et le sémantique. Cette approche du sens n'est pas si exceptionnelle: On sait, par exemple, que les études linguistiques contemporaines parlent d'une sémantique formelle. Dans le Livre, il n'y a pas d'un côté "forme" entendue comme gouvernement et de l'autre le sens, que l'on entende par cela l'inten-

¹⁰ Cf. BGK 1990:68 sq.

¹¹ Voir BGK 1990:38 par exemple: "Šibawayhi's system of analysis crucially presupposes that any utterance is the final result of a sequence of operations performed by the speaker, each one of these operations being simultaneously and indissociably formal and semantic".

¹² On lira par exemple l'analyse sur *'ilgā'* et *'fmal'* et, en particulier, ce passage (BGK 1990:38): "Now these two operations (*'fmal'*/*'ilgā'*), even if they are expressed through terms which denote merely formal properties of the verb ... are nevertheless related to semantic considerations, that is to the intention (*nihya*) of the speaker".

¹³ "... these terms (*'fmal'*/*'ilgā'*) are *mašdars* (verbal nouns) derived from factitive verbs, and that they actually point to something performed by the speaker" (BGK 1990:38).

¹⁴ Voir Cours de Linguistique Générale, Paris.

tion du locuteur ou quelqu' autre notion, mais la théorie du gouvernement même se fonde sur des analyses sémantiques et rend compte tant d'opérations syntaxiques que sémantiques ou relatives à l'énonciation. En somme, on a tort de croire que la théorie du gouvernement ne traite que de forme en oubliant le sens: Elle traite de la forme même du sens. Voilà ce qu'on tentera de montrer dans les développements qui suivent. Le formel sera entendu comme relationnel. On le savait déjà par l'analyse de la notion de *tamīl*,¹⁵ ce que la grammaire représente, l'objet de la représentation est la relation entre les termes, non les termes eux-mêmes. Une simple analyse lexicale du concept de *'amal* montre que la notion est formelle, que la forme est relations grammaticales, non empirie immédiate des termes.

1. La dimension géométrique de la relation de gouvernement

La notion de *'amal* établit un lien entre deux termes: un élément gouverneur (*'āmil*) et un élément gouverné (*ma'mūl*). Elle est soumise à plusieurs principes généraux sur lesquels j'aurai à parler à un moment ou à un autre de cet exposé: la nature de l'élément gouverneur, de l'élément gouverné, les principes qui régissent la relation entre éléments gouverneurs et éléments gouvernés. Ainsi articulée, la théorie du *'amal* présente des parentés certaines avec plusieurs théories ou sous-théories de la linguistique contemporaine ou de la grammaire traditionnelle: Il est aisé, par exemple, de montrer ses affinités avec la théorie du gouvernement telle que la développe Chomsky 1981 dans le modèle du gouvernement et du liage.¹⁶ La théorie du *'amal* présente également des parentés conceptuelles certaines avec la notion traditionnelle de rection connue dans la grammaire occidentale. Mon propos ici ne sera nullement de tirer la théorie arabe du côté de telle ou telle théorie contemporaine ou ancienne: Une telle démarche risque fort de succomber à ce que j'ai appelé ailleurs l'illusion moderniste.¹⁷ Il me semble précisément plus important de partir du constat de sa parenté avec plusieurs théories et d'en voir la raison. Toutes s'appuient, du moins dans une partie de leurs propositions, sur une propriété fondamentale du langage; Saussure l'appelle la linéarité du signifiant: Pour dire le monde, on se trouve dans la nécessité d'enchaîner les unités linguistiques les unes à la suite des autres sans pouvoir les prononcer toutes à la fois. La langue en acquiert un ordre propre qui n'est pas celui du monde. Notre parole s'inscrit dans le temps: On a besoin de tellement de mots pour dire les choses. Mais elle s'inscrit aussi dans l'étendue:¹⁸ les enchaînements des éléments linguistiques obéissent à

¹⁵ Voir Ayoub 1990.

¹⁶ Voir également Owens 1988 qui développe une comparaison détaillée avec une grammaire des dépendances fondée largement sur les vues de Tesnières.

¹⁷ Voir Ayoub 1991a.

¹⁸ Saussure, 1972:103: "le signifiant ... se déroule dans le temps seul et a les caractères qu'il emprunte au temps: a) il représente une étendue, et b) cette étendue est mesurable dans une seule dimension: c'est une ligne. Ce principe est évident ... Cependant il est fondamental et les conséquences en sont incalculables;... tout le mécanisme de la langue en dépend" et p. 170: " Dans le discours, les mots contractent entre eux, en vertu de leur enchaînement, des rapports fondés sur le caractère linéaire de la langue, qui exclut la possibilité de prononcer deux éléments à la fois ... Ceux-ci se rangent les uns à la suite des autres sur la chaîne de la parole".

des lois.

Il semble, quand on examine les langues de près, que la linéarité du signifiant soit une notion trop simple pour rendre adéquatement compte de la syntaxe des langues. Mais bien qu'elle ne se voit posée que pour être, par le même mouvement, réfutée, elle nomme "l'observable des places" sur lequel s'appuie, dirait Milner, la "géométrie du langage".¹⁹ Il est, en fait, impossible de concevoir une grammaire qui n'intègre point par un ensemble de propositions théoriques cette propriété. Dans la grammaire de Bloomfield, par exemple, la linéarité du signifiant est subsumée par la notion de position: les unités ordonnées sont des positions.²⁰ En d'autres termes, l'ordre linéaire des unités est un primitif qui entre dans la définition des concepts de l'analyse. Il en va tout autrement dans le Livre. L'ordre des éléments linguistiques n'est pas un primitif, mais un effet déduit à partir d'une analyse abstraite. Ainsi, ce n'est pas la notion de *mawḍiʿ* — le mot signifie littéralement position et se rapproche aussi, soutient à juste titre Carter, de la notion de fonction chez Bloomfield — qui subsume la linéarité dans le *Kitāb* et par la suite dans la tradition arabe, mais bien celle de *ʿamal*,²¹ du moins partiellement, comme on le verra. C'est certainement le principe de linéarité qui permet de subsumer sous le même concept Cas du nom et mode du verbe: Tous deux obéissent, dans leur occurrence, à des contraintes d'ordre, contraintes relevant de la géométrie.²² J'en citerai brièvement ici quelques aspects.

1.1 Le principe d'ordre linéaire (*taqdīm wa-ta'ḥīr*)

Un principe d'ordre linéaire entre l'élément gouverneur et l'élément gouverné explique une propriété typologique importante de la langue arabe que tout linguiste rencontre et dont il a à rendre compte: l'arabe est une langue où le verbe fléchi est à l'initiale. Traitant de la mauvaise qualité de:

- 2 a?? *zaydan 'ahā-ka 'azunnu* (49.19)
 Zayd-acc frère-acc-toi je crois
 Zayd est ton frère, je crois
 b?? *zaydan qā'imān ḍarabtu*
 Zayd-acc levé-acc j'ai frappé
 J'ai frappé Zayd alors qu'il était debout.

Ṣībawayhi énonce la généralisation suivante: Dans le cas canonique, le verbe est le premier élément s'il est gouverneur [c.4]. En somme l'ordre canonique de la

¹⁹ Sur les idées de Milner voir Annexe 2 A.

²⁰ Mais la notion de position chez Bloomfield n'est pas uniquement définie par l'ordre linéaire. Elle est bien plus complexe. Bloomfield (1970) parle de taxèmes de sélection, d'ordre, et de modulation comme définissant des positions qui sont, somme toute, conçues comme des positions de "sens" grammatical issu de ces traits formels (les positions d'acteur et d'action, par exemple dans John ran). Cela signifie que la notion de "position" chez Bloomfield n'est pas exclusivement géométrique et entretient un rapport bien indirect avec la notion de "position" en grammaire générative, par exemple.

²¹ Cela est peut-être susceptible d'éclairer les termes d'un débat sur position et fonction engagé par Carter, repris par Versteegh et Owens.

²² Cf. Milner, 1989:379 "les positions sont géométriques en cela qu'elles se laissent représenter dans l'espace". Mais on lira également les développements qui suivent sur le "dédoubllement des géométries".

phrase verbale où le verbe est le premier élément de l'ordre séquentiel est un effet de la théorie du gouvernement. Celle-ci contribue donc à définir des positions linéaires canoniques.²³ La généralisation précédente a une proposition symétrique. Elle est énoncée pour la même construction: "A chaque fois que tu veux suspendre (l'effet du gouverneur), il est préférable de le disposer en dernier [par rapport à l'élément qu'il est susceptible de gouverner]" [c.5]. Le principe est très clairement dit, dans des termes plus généraux, en 21.11. Le passage cité spécifie: "Si [l'élément]²⁴ est gouverneur relativement à quelqu' autre élément, tu le disposes en premier comme tu as disposé 'azunnu et 'ahsabu en premier et si tu annules [son effet en tant que gouverneur], tu le disposes en dernier comme tu les as disposés en dernier car ils ne gouvernent aucun autre élément" [c.6]. Le 'amal définit donc une précedence linéaire du gouverneur et en conséquence, l'ordre respectif des éléments gouverneurs et gouvernés.²⁵

On retrouve une généralisation structurale encore plus contrainte pour ce qui est des gouverneurs des verbes au jussif. Ceux-ci, s'ils gouvernent un verbe, doivent précéder les deux verbes et les gouverner tous deux. La séquence suivante:

- 3 *a 'ātī-ka 'in ta'ti-nī (389.13)
je viens (inacc. indicatif)-toi si tu viens(inacc. jussif)-moi
Je te rendrai visite si tu me rends visite

où seul le second verbe est au jussif, est jugée mauvaise. La séquence correcte étant:

- b 'ātī-ka 'in 'atayta-nī (387.20)
viens(inacc. ind.)-moi si tu es venu (acc)-moi
Je te rendrai visite si tu me rends visite

Il est mauvais, dit le texte, de ne pas disposer la particule en premier si elle assigne le jussif au verbe qui la suit [c.7].

Néanmoins, les contraintes d'ordre de la théorie du 'amal ne sont pas le seul critère qui définit l'agencement canonique des positions linéaires: elles ne disent rien, en effet, de l'ordre respectif des éléments qui ne sont pas dans une relation de gouvernement. Par exemple, l'ordre canonique du sujet et de l'objet. Celui-ci est expliqué par des considérations ayant rapport à l'"importance" du sujet jugée relativement à la théorie de la prédication. Discutant des exemples:

²³ L'usage qui est fait ici de position ne coïncide ni avec place ni avec position, tels que les définit Milner 1989. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'un système de places: ce n'est point l'ordre des termes analysés minimalement comme mots dont il s'agit, mais l'ordre d'une catégorie analysée comme gouverneur relativement à des termes fonctionnels analysés comme éléments gouvernés. Il s'agit donc de positions définies théoriquement et ne correspondant pas aux places empiriques. Néanmoins, la relation d'ordre qui les définit est une relation d'ordre linéaire, énoncée en termes de succession et de voisinage. La notion de "position" utilisée ici se laisse le mieux comparer à celle de "site" cf. 382 "Toutes les théories syntaxiques dignes de ce nom, et cela depuis les origines, admettent l'hypothèse des sites", à condition d'ajouter qu'une relation d'ordre linéaire est définie sur les sites.

²⁴ à propos de *fīhā* dans *mā kāna 'ahadun hayran minka fīhā*. Le texte ajoute la généralisation suivante: "A chaque fois que tu disposes en dernier l'élément dont tu annules [l'effet en tant qu'opérateur], la phrase est meilleure" (*kullām 'ahhara lladī nulḡf kāna 'ahsana*), (21.10).

²⁵ Les grammairiens tardifs tenteront d'énoncer des généralisations similaires relatives à l'ordre du gouverneur/gouverné. On se reportera à Owens 1988:53 pour des références.

- 4 a *ḍaraba 'abdullāhi zaydan*
a frappé Abdallah-nom Zayd-acc
Abdallah a frappé Zayd
b *ḍaraba zaydan 'abdullāhi*
a frappé Z-acc A-nom

le texte comme en ces termes " L'ordre canonique ... est celui où le sujet est en premier ... comme s'ils eussent mis en première position celui qui leur paraît plus important à exprimer et par l'expression duquel ils se suffisent" [c.8].

Quoique le passage fasse référence au locuteur (générique: les Arabes), l'importance du sujet est, en fait, déterminée par des considérations sémantiques relatives à la théorie de la prédication: les termes *'aḡnā*, *istaḡnā* sont les termes consacrés dans le Livre pour parler d'une phrase dont le sens est complet du fait de la réalisation des deux termes de la prédication.²⁶ L'exemple précédent est souvent cité pour arguer que Sībawayhi est proche des grands rhétoriciens tardifs en ceci qu'il ne néglige pas la variation de sens corrélatrice à l'ordre des mots. Cela, à vrai dire, n'est point son propos. L'observation n'est, en effet, exacte que si l'on en voit la stricte limite: Le "sens" dont il s'agit est grammatical par excellence; il est relatif à la prédication. Il intéresse Sībawayhi au même titre que d'autres considérations grammaticales, relatives au *'amal*, qui expliquent l'ordre gouverneur/gouverné et enfin, toutes les variations d'ordre de mots qui ne sont pas "grammaticales", qui désigneraient de pures places, sont négligées par le texte. Ainsi, pour ce qui est de l'antéposition de l'objet dans les exemples b et c suivants:

- 5 a *ḍaraba zaydun 'amran*
a frappé Zayd-nom Amr-acc
b *zaydan ḍarabtu*
Zayd-acc j'ai frappé
c *ḍaraba 'amran zaydun* (31.16)
a frappé Amr-acc Zayd-nom

Les rhétoriciens ultérieurs ont vu dans ces différences de place des variations de sens. Pour Sībawayhi, quelle que soit la place de l'objet, l'importance qui lui est accordée est identique [c.9]. Tous ces exemples fournissent une illustration utile de la différence entre site et place, au sens de Milner 1989. C'est là l'équivalent des exemples du bourgeois gentilhomme cités dans cet ouvrage, 296 sq "Belle marquise, vos beaux yeux me font mourir d'amour". Autant dire, en somme, que seul ce qui a statut grammatical relève du propos du texte. Cela ne veut pas dire que le texte tourne le dos au sens. On le verra plus bas, ce qui est grammatical a pour pierre angulaire le calcul du sens et de la référence. Tout dépendra, certes, de la notion de "sens" impliquée. Mais l'ordre de précedence du gouverneur et du gouverné n'est point l'effet essentiel du principe de linéarité. L'effet essentiel du principe peut être désigné comme un principe de localité.

²⁶ Cette citation ne peut donc à notre avis servir d'argument à la thèse que les opérations de la grammaire sont effectuées par le locuteur mû par une intention spécifique (BGK 1990:39). Elle porte uniquement sur l'ordre de deux éléments gouvernés et elle l'explique d'ailleurs par une théorie grammaticale. En d'autres termes, si l'intention du locuteur il y a, elle est bien contrainte puisque le Livre pose, dès l'épître, que les deux termes de la prédication sont des termes "... dont le locuteur ne peut se passer" (voir section 2.1).

1.2 Le principe de (stricte) localité

Celui-ci est distinct du précédent. Il n'énonce pas:

6 A précède B.

où A est le gouverneur, B l'élément gouverné.

Il calcule la "distance" entre A et B et suppose, donc, à la différence du précédent, un troisième terme X. Il s'énoncerait plutôt en ces termes:

7 A et B doivent être "proches" et ne peuvent être séparés par une variable quelconque X.

La proximité a un nom dans le Livre, celui de *qurb al-ġiwār* (litt: la proximité du voisinage). Le terme X est impliqué par une autre notion: la notion de *fasl* (litt: séparation). Tel qu'il vient d'être énoncé, le principe de localité demeure vague: Qu'est-ce qui définit, par exemple, la proximité? Dans le Livre, elle varie selon la nature de A, de B et de X. Autant dire que la localité ne s'épuise pas dans le géométrique. Elle a toutefois une dimension géométrique certaine: la relation de gouvernement implique la notion de domaine. En effet, les cas où le gouverneur n'a plus dans sa portée l'élément gouverné (les cas de *ta'liq* - litt: suspension -) montrent que la grammaire suppose implicitement que l'élément gouverneur et l'élément gouverné sont dans le même domaine, sinon on ne verrait point pourquoi certains éléments, à l'exclusion d'autres, seraient susceptibles de "suspendre" la relation de gouvernement. On peut également montrer que certaines analyses sur l'antéposition et la postposition impliquent également la notion de domaine. L'intuition de base serait donc qu'un gouverneur délimite un domaine. Dans le cas général, sont dans le domaine d'un gouverneur les seuls éléments qu'il gouverne.

La localité a deux versions: une version forte et une version faible, la version faible est celle de la proximité ou du voisinage (*qurb al-ġiwār*). La version forte est l'adjacence stricte ou la contiguité (pas d'élément X entre A et B). On illustrera *qurb al-ġiwār* par l'analyse faite de:

8 *ḡarabtu wa-ḡarabani Zaydun* (28.17)

J'ai frappé et a frappé-moi Zayd-nom

J'ai frappé Zayd et il m'a frappé

Dans cet exemple, deux gouverneurs sont susceptibles d'avoir *zayd* pour élément gouverné: le premier ou le second verbe. Dans la mesure, dit Sībawayhi, où le sens n'impose pas l'un ou l'autre gouverneur et où l'ellipse, dans la première proposition, est récupérable par l'interlocuteur, c'est le principe géométrique qui départage: la proximité. "Celui (le verbe) qu'il [*zayd*] suit est prioritaire [pour être le gouverneur] de par sa proximité (*li-qurbi ḡiwārihi*)" [c.10].²⁷ On le remarquera, l'application du principe géométrique est subordonnée à des considérations de sens (*naqd al-ma'nā*). On retrouve ces mêmes considérations en 35.8. Une illustration du rôle de

²⁷ Le principe de localité (*qurbu l-ġiwār*) est cause de l'assignation d'un Cas qui ne devrait pas être tel et qui est assigné par analogie avec l'élément précédent, du fait de la proximité. C'est l'exemple de: *hāḡā ḡuhru ḡabbin ḡaribin* (26.2.) litt: C'est le trou en terre d'un lézard délabré où "délabré" est au génitif comme "lézard" et non au nominatif comme "trou en terre". Ce même principe de localité peut fonctionner pour déterminer le Cas de *ʿamr* dans: *ra'aytu zaydan wa-ʿamran ka'llamtuhu* (J'ai vu Zayd (acc) et ʿAmr (acc) je lui ai parlé), (35.4). Dans la seconde proposition, il est préférable d'assigner l'accusatif au nom à l'initiale car la coordination coordonnerait deux opérateurs identiques (les verbes) et la relation de voisinage justifie cette assignation.

l'élément X est fournie par les exemples en 198.10 présentés sous 9:

9	a *	marartu bi-raḡulin	ḡasanun	zarḡfin	'abūhu
			B	X	A
		Je suis passé près d'un homme-gén beau-nom fin-gén père-nom-lui			
	b *	marartu	bi-dāribin	zarḡfin	zaydan
		A	X	B	
		je suis passé près d'un frappant-gén fin-gén Zayd-acc			

L'agrammaticalité des deux énoncés peut, pour l'essentiel, être expliquée par cette proposition: "car il [le locuteur] sépare par un modifieur adjectival entre [l'élément gouverné] et le gouverneur" [c.11]. Dans les exemples plus haut, A désigne le gouverneur, B l'élément gouverné et X le modifieur adjectival. En a, l'élément gouverneur est 'abūhu en tant que *mubtada'* qui, pour Sībawayhi, gouverne le second terme de la phrase nominale (*ḡasan* en a) et lui assigne le nominatif. Or le modifieur adjectival relève d'une autre relation de gouvernement: il s'accorde avec *raḡul*. De là l'agrammaticalité de la séquence. On pourrait donc dire qu'un élément qui relève d'une autre relation de gouvernement ne doit pas interférer entre l'élément gouverneur et l'élément gouverné. Mais la question est bien plus complexe. Il semble qu'elle implique la complétude des termes, au sens référentiel²⁸ et la nature de la relation entre l'élément gouverneur et l'élément gouverné. Ce qui revient à dire que la théorie du '*amal*' est traversée par autre chose que la linéarité et la géométrie. Dans l'exemple précédent, l'analyse ne repose pas seulement sur un principe purement géométrique. Les termes A, B et X ne sont pas quelconques. Dans l'exemple b, A et B forment un seul nom. De même le modifieur adjectival forme un seul nom avec l'élément qu'il modifie. Plus généralement, il existe une notion de syntagme, du moins nominal, qui fonctionne comme terme ou domaine "opaque" à toute autre relation de gouvernement. C'est cette même notion qui explique l'opacité de la proposition qui suit '*anna*'. Toute la suite est analysée comme équivalente à un nom. Le prouve l'analyse de l'exemple suivant: *balāḡanf 'anna zaydan ḡā'a* (il m'est parvenu que Zayd est venu). Le texte (364.17) commente en ces termes: Toute la suite '*anna zaydan ḡā'a*' est un nom (*kulluhu smun*), (voir note 49).

L'importance de la nature de la relation est illustrée clairement par la mise en regard des énoncés suivants:

10	a	'inna bihā zaydan muṣābun	(303.19)
		que par-elle Z(acc) atteint-nom	
		Zayd est certainement atteint de cela [cc mal]	

²⁸ C'est du moins ce que suggère le commentaire du second exemple: "*li-'annahu waṣafahu fa-fa'ala ḡalahu ka-ḡali li-'asmā'i li-'annaka 'innamā tabtadi'u bi-l-ismi ḡumma taṣifuhu*". La possibilité d'avoir des interférences quand l'autonomie référentielle n'est pas concernée confirme la même hypothèse. Owens 88:50, discutant d'exemples équivalents, avance qu'Ibn Sarrāḡ et al-Mubarrad, en énonçant la contrainte d'adjacence dans des termes généraux: gouverneur/gouverné qui n'impliquent pas la nature des termes, vont plus loin que Sībawayhi dont les propositions restent tributaires de la nature des termes (notamment de *kāna*). Il n'est pas sûr que la différence entre ces grammairiens soit adéquatement décrite par la différence particulier/général. Si ce que l'on soutient ici à propos du Livre s'avère correct, il serait plus adéquat de dire que ces théories font intervenir des paramètres différents dans le calcul de la localité.

- et: * b *lā miṭṭa bihā zaydin* (302.18)
 pas similaire-acc en-elle Z-gén
 (qui aurait dû dire: il n'y a pas comme Zayd en ce lieu / si l'ordre
 était: *lā miṭṭa Zaydin bi-hā*)

En a, le syntagme prépositionnel *bihā* peut légitimement séparer 'inna du nom auquel elle assigne le Cas accusatif.²⁹ Une telle séparation entre le nom et le génitif adnominal donne une séquence totalement agrammaticale en b. Cela parce que le principe de localité devient adjacence stricte avec le Cas oblique (qu'il s'agisse du génitif adnominal ou de l'objet d'une préposition). La généralisation, donnée pour expliquer l'agrammaticalité de l'exemple b, est énoncée en termes de *muḍāf/ism muḍāf 'ilayhi*: 'Il est mauvais de séparer le nom du génitif adnominal'³⁰ [c.12].

On peut se demander si le principe se justifie par des considérations purement structurales. Le commentaire donné en 74.17 n'est pas assez précis pour éclairer entièrement ce point: La séparation du gouverneur et de l'élément gouverné, dit le texte, n'est pas légitime car ce dernier constitue un seul terme avec le nom qui lui assigne le Cas [c.13]. L'expression "*dāhīlun fī l-ismi*" (litt: inclus dans le nom) que nous avons rendu par "constituer un seul terme" permet plusieurs interprétations. Même si on l'entend de manière purement structurale, elle indique une différence qualitative: certaines relations de gouvernement préservent l'intégrité des termes. Dans la complémentation nominale, le second terme est disjoint du premier si le premier porte le tanwīn. C'est le cas de *ḡāribun zaydan*.³¹ D'autres ne la préservent pas; c'est le cas de *ḡāribu zaydin*. La question de l'antéposition et de la postposition des termes se pose uniquement dans le premier cas.

13 La localité dans le cas du verbe

Les contraintes géométriques fonctionnent à l'identique si le verbe est l'élément gouverné. Une différence est à noter, néanmoins. Elles ont une application plus stricte avec le verbe qu'avec le nom. L'adjacence stricte est exigée entre la particule gouverneur et l'élément gouverné. Mais là aussi, la généralisation n'est pas énoncée en des termes purement géométriques. La nature de X est tout à fait déterminante: il ne peut s'agir d'un nom. La séquence suivante résume la situation:

11 * A - NP - B

où A est le gouverneur (les particules gouverneurs du jussif et du subjonctif), B le verbe gouverné. Elle est illustrée dans le texte par les exemples suivants:

²⁹ La généralisation suivante est donnée à propos de cet exemple: *kullu makānin ḥasuna laka 'an taṣṣila fīhi bayna l-'amīli wa-l-ma'mūli fīhi bimā yāḥsunu 'alayhi s-sukūtu, ḥasuna laka 'an taṣṣila fīhi baynahumā bimā yaqbuḥu 'alayhi s-sukūtu*. 303.17

³⁰ Voir également 74.8 où elle est énoncée en termes de *ḡārr/maḡrūr*: '*lā taṣṣilu bayna l-ḡārrī wa-bayna mā ya'malu fīhi*' où *ḡārr/maḡrūr* désignent le nom et le génitif adnominal. La généralisation est fournie pour expliquer la différence de grammaticalité entre i et ii:

i *hāḡā ḡāribu zaydin fīhā wa-'amran*

ii *hāḡā ḡāribu zaydin fīhā wa-'amrin*

La différence de grammaticalité est relative. ii n'est pas totalement agrammatical: Plus la séquence X qui sépare *ḡārib* de *'amr* est longue, plus l'accusatif est meilleur ("*kullamā idla l-kalāmū kāna n-naṣṣbu 'aqwā*" 74).

³¹ Le texte utilise le terme *infīṣāl*: "*fa-'iddā nawwanta nfaṣala*" 74.18.

- 12 * a *ġi'tuka kay zaydun yaqīla dālika* (406.2)
Je suis venu à toi afin que Zayd-nom disc-subj cela
- * b *lam zaydun ya'ti-ka* (406.6)
ne pas Zayd-nom vient-toi
pour: Zayd ne t'a pas rendu visite

Mais, très vite, la contrainte sera formulée en termes d'adjacence stricte:

13 * A - X - B

Plusieurs raisons sont fournies pour expliquer cette agrammaticalité:

1- Une analogie qui existerait dans la langue entre le jussif (*ġazm*) pour les verbes et le Cas oblique (*ġarr*) pour les noms. L'un correspond à l'autre.³² Les conditions de gouvernement auxquels ils obéissent sont symétriques: De la même manière qu'un verbe ne peut s'intercaler entre A et B dans le *ġarr*, un nom ne peut s'intercaler entre A et le verbe gouverné dans le *ġazm*. Plus généralement, dans l'un et l'autre cas, c'est l'adjacence stricte qui est exigée (406.6).

2- Pour ce qui est des particules assignant la flexion modale -a au verbe (*naṣb*), la relation est symétrique de celle existant entre *'inna* et le nom qu'il gouverne: De la même manière qu'un verbe ne peut s'intercaler entre *'inna* et le nom qu'il gouverne, un nom ne peut s'intercaler entre *'an* (ou les particules de la même classe) et le verbe qu'elle gouverne (406.3).³³

3 - Enfin, l'adjacence stricte est exigée entre les particules assignant la flexion -a au verbe et ce dernier alors qu'on ne retrouve pas d'exigence correspondante pour les gouverneurs du nom, et ce à cause du principe d'irréductibilité des catégories syntaxiques: "... car ils ont répugné à les rendre similaire avec ce qui gouverne le nom, car le nom n'est point comme le verbe et, de même, ce qui le gouverne n'est point comme ce qui gouverne le verbe" [c.14].³⁴ Quant aux éléments qui gouvernent deux verbes au jussif (*hurūfu l-ġazā'*), ils obéissent à une contrainte quelque peu moins stricte en ceci qu'il est toléré dans la poésie qu'un nom les sépare du verbe qu'ils gouvernent car ils ont d'autres emplois dans la langue.³⁵ Ils sont à rapprocher de la forme participiale qui peut assigner le Cas oblique à son objet mais connaît également d'autres emplois dans la langue (406.18).

On remarquera qu'à chaque fois, dans ces analyses, les contraintes géométriques auxquelles obéit la relation gouverneur / gouverné quand l'élément gouverné est le verbe sont, en général, justifiées par une symétrie avec les gouverneurs du nom. En d'autres termes, la relation de gouvernement est définie pour le nom. Elle est étendue ensuite au verbe, lequel sera, sauf exceptions notables, justiciable des mêmes conditions. Cette prééminence du nom dans la relation de gouvernement constitue la résonance d'une thèse générale posée par le Livre: Il existe une dissymétrie entre les entités linguistiques, qu'elles soient phonologiques, morphologiques, syntaxiques, etc. Cette dissymétrie, exprimée par la notion de "premier" (*'awwal*), prend la forme suivante: La catégorie α est "première" par rapport à la

³² *al-ġazm naṣṭu l-ġarr*. (406.7)

³³ *'il yaḡūzu 'an iafṣila bayna l-fī'li wa-l-ʿāmilī fīhi bi-l-ismi*. 406.3; cf. aussi 428.6.

³⁴ Même perspective en 365.11 pour expliquer l'adjacence stricte *'an* -V. La raison suivante est invoquée: *karāhiyatu 'an yuṣabbihūhā bimā ya'malu fī l-asmā'*.

³⁵ "... *uṣṭāriku l-ġazma*" 406 18.

catégorie B. Cette proposition générale s'applique aux verbes relativement aux noms: "Et sache que certains éléments de langue³⁶ sont plus lourds que d'autres. Ainsi les verbes sont plus lourds que les noms car les noms sont premiers et ils sont plus solidement établis" (5.8). La notion de "premier" a reçu diverses interprétations dans la littérature. Sa présence, fortement soulignée par la tradition ultérieure, fera dire que la spécificité du verbe a été totalement oubliée dans ces théories. En discuter ici excéderait largement le propos présent. On le retiendra néanmoins, le texte associe la notion de "premier" à une propriété empirique que désigne l'expression "ce qui est plus solidement établi", à savoir à ce qui a une distribution plus grande, des emplois plus nombreux dans la langue. Même pour ce qui est des contraintes géométriques, la relation de gouvernement n'homogénéise donc pas entièrement les catégories grammaticales. Cette relation obéit à des conditions plus strictes quand le verbe est l'élément gouverné, ceci se justifiant par l'irréductibilité du verbe par rapport au nom, ou par une dissymétrie entre le verbe et le nom. La question sera: Ces conditions formelles plus strictes renvoient-elles à quelque autre différence dans la langue?

Enfin, l'adjacence stricte dans la langue peut aussi se justifier par un procédé analogique impliquant le sens: l'élément X d'un paradigme ayant même valeur sémantique qu'un élément Y obéira aux contraintes formelles de X. C'est le cas de *qad* par analogie avec *lammā*:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|----------|
| 14 a | <i>lammā yaf'al</i> | (407.19) |
| | pas encore il fait | |
| | il n'a pas encore fait | |
| b | <i>qad fa'ala</i> | |
| | déjà il a fait | |
| | il a déjà fait | |

L'adjacence stricte en 14 a se justifie par la relation de gouvernement. Elle est étendue à l'autre élément du paradigme, *qad*, comme on le voit en 14 b, car, dit le texte, l'une et l'autre particule impliquent un présupposé du locuteur qu'on peut ainsi énoncer: Quelque chose va être fait³⁷ (407.19). Un raisonnement identique est tenu pour *sawfa* (particule du futur) qui est dans une relation d'adjacence stricte avec le verbe bien qu'il n'y ait pas de relation de gouvernement. En somme, on donne une équivalence sémantique avec un autre *ḥarf* où il y a 'amal, et du coup, on justifie l'adjacence. Comme la relation d'équivalence est transitive, elle peut passer par un troisième terme: *sawfa yaf'alu* (il fera) est comparable à *sa-yaf'alu* (il fera) et celle-ci est l'affirmation correspondant à *lan yaf'ala* (il ne fera pas). Comme la particule *lan* est dans une relation d'adjacence stricte avec le verbe du fait de la relation de gouvernement (elle assigne au verbe la flexion -a), *sa* et *sawfa* seront justiciables de la même relation [c.15].

On remarquera, dans ces derniers exemples, que la contrainte géométrique entre les termes trouve son fondement dans l'identité de la valeur sémantique des éléments d'un paradigme et l'extension aux autres éléments d'une relation d'adjacence.

³⁶ Nous rendons ainsi l'expression: "*ba'ḍu l-kalām*" parce qu'à notre avis la proposition ne concerne pas seulement les parties du discours.

³⁷ Le texte le dit de la manière suivante: "*innamā humā li-qawmin yantazirūna šay'an*."

cence qui se fonde sur une relation de gouvernement. En d'autres termes, il n'y a nulle autonomie de la contrainte géométrique par rapport au sens. L'adjacence stricte trouve son fondement dans le non-géométrique. C'est là un aspect qui distingue la théorie du Livre. Il y en aura d'autres. Mais, avant d'y venir, poursuivons l'examen des points susceptibles de se retrouver dans d'autres théories.

1.4 L'unicité du gouverneur et la notion de conflit de Cas

Ce principe dit ce qui suit: Un élément ne peut être gouverné que par un seul gouverneur. Toute grammaire doit poser une condition similaire: ce qui s'exprime ici en termes de gouvernement s'exprime, par exemple, également en ces termes dans les modèles génératifs mais y est aussi défini pour le "sens" par ce que la théorie appelle le q-critère. Sans pouvoir être réduite à la dimension géométrique du langage, l'unicité du gouverneur est étroitement liée la notion de domaine: Il est fort probable qu'elle la fonde. C'est du moins ce que laisse pressentir le passage sur la notion de proximité ou de voisinage. Dans la mesure où un élément a un seul gouverneur, celui-ci définit un domaine où les éléments qu'il gouverne ne sont plus accessibles à un autre gouverneur. Le principe est énoncé au cours de l'analyse de l'exemple évoqué plus haut: *ḍarabanī wa-ḍarabtu zaydan*. L'unicité du gouverneur est ainsi posée:

- 15 "Pour ce qui est de la forme, le gouverneur est l'un ou l'autre des deux verbes" [c.16].

Du point de vue de l'élément gouverné, le principe énonce l'impossibilité du conflit de Cas:

- 16 "Un même nom ne peut être gouverné³⁸ à la fois à l'accusatif et au nominatif" [c.17].

L'interdiction du conflit de Cas n'est pas déterminée par des considérations sémantiques directes. Le texte précise bien que, du point de vue du sens, l'information que *zayd* est acteur de l'action exprimée par le premier verbe (qui ne le gouverne pas) est récupérable. Néanmoins, un même élément ne peut avoir deux gouverneurs. Les notions de localité, de domaine et d'unicité du gouverneur sont aussi au fondement des analyses en termes de *ḥaml 'alā l-mawḍi'*. Cette notion ne peut pas impliquer que le même terme ait à la fois deux gouverneurs. Elle dit plutôt ceci: Quand l'effet du gouverneur le plus local s'affaiblit pour une raison quelconque, l'élément gouverné se trouve dans la portée d'un gouverneur plus éloigné avec lequel il peut définir une relation de gouvernement du fait de sa position. Ainsi, dans l'exemple cité plus haut: *ḥāḍā ḍāribu zaydin fthā wa-'amrin/amran*: Le Cas accusatif que *'amr* reçoit du fait de sa position (en tant qu'objet du déverbal) est d'autant justifié que le nom est éloigné du gouverneur phonétique le plus local (*ḍārib*) et que la relation de gouvernement entre un nom et le génitif adnominal exige une localité stricte.³⁹

On peut, enfin, envisager l'homogénéité de Cas entre certains termes d'un groupe nominal, le nom et son modifieur adjectival, par exemple, comme un corol-

³⁸ Il faut lire *"yū'malu"* comme le fait Hārūn et non *"ya'malu"* comme Derenbourg.

³⁹ Rappelons la manière dont le texte énonce la relation entre la localité et le choix du gouverneur: *"kullamā ḍāla l-kalāmu kāna (n-naṣbu) 'aḳwā"* 74.8.

laire de l'impossibilité du conflit de Cas. En effet, le nom et son modifieur forment pour Sībawayhi un seul nom. Dès lors, il faut qu'ils soient marqués pour le même Cas. La thèse est explicitement affirmée "il est impossible qu'une partie du nom soit marquée pour le Cas oblique alors que l'autre est marquée pour le nominatif [c.18]. Le passage montre, par ailleurs, que l'on ne peut avoir du nom (*ism*) une représentation simple où il serait équivalent à un seul mot et qu'il faut supposer qu'il forme un constituant susceptible d'inclure un groupe de mots (voir également 364.17).

En somme, on aura montré, pour l'heure, que la théorie du gouvernement dans le Livre, en imposant des contraintes de localité et d'ordre aux éléments gouverneurs et gouvernés, fournit un principe d'explication de la dimension géométrique empirique du langage. Elle homogénéise ainsi, par la géométrie, les catégories grammaticales. Disant cela, on ne fait que donner substance à cette dimension formelle à laquelle on réduit d'habitude la théorie. Mais cela est loin de dire toute la théorie. Cela ne dit même pas toute sa dimension formelle. C'est ce dernier point que nous développerons dans ce qui suit.

2. Forme et force

2.1 Le *'āmil* est un opérateur qui requiert des places à saturer

On l'a vu, la notion de position au sens d'une case vide postulée par l'analyse dans la structure, et qu'un élément viendrait remplir n'est pas définie dans le Livre par le critère d'ordre, voisinage ou succession, contrairement à la notion de position dans la théorie de Bloomfield où l'ordre est un critère de définition, parmi d'autres. Les principes relevant de la théorie du *'amal* évoqués plus haut ordonnent des positions déjà là. Dès lors se pose la question: Qu'est-ce qui détermine l'existence et le nombre des positions? pourquoi y a-t-il deux positions dans telle structure plutôt que trois? On fera un rapprochement avec le calcul des prédicats du premier ordre, pour éclairer ce point. Dans cette théorie, un prédicat est regardé comme une sorte de fonction mathématique. Une fonction se caractérise par le fait que son expression $f(x)$ comporte une place vide, celle de l'argument. Il en est de même du gouverneur: la seule présence d'un gouverneur requiert la présence de places (une ou deux, selon le gouverneur) d'éléments gouvernés. En ce sens, le gouverneur se rapproche des opérateurs au sens logique du terme. Il est très exactement, du point de vue conceptuel, un opérateur.

L'analyse littérale du terme arabe *'āmil* l'indique déjà. Carter 1972b et 1973 Angheliescu 1975 le signalent à juste titre en attirant l'attention sur la différence entre gouvernement et *'amal*. La relation grammaticale n'est pas seulement forme. Elle est aussi force, Carter 1972a le soulignait.⁴⁰ La démarche grammaticale du Livre intègre des notions dynamiques: celle de force (*quwwa*), celle de *tamakkun* par exemple. Les éléments de langue ont une force relative. Ils agissent aussi les uns sur les autres: c'est ce que pose la notion de *'amal*. C'est aussi ce que dit le terme lui-même, lequel signifie littéralement dans la langue le fait d'agir, d'opérer. En témoigne également la logique de la désignation de leur "action", c'est-à-dire celle

⁴⁰ La notion de "force" en rapport avec celle de *'amal* a également été signalée par Fleisch 1961. Enfin, on se reportera à Ayoub 1987 pour le rapport forme/force.

des Cas et des modes. Il a été noté que ces désignations appartiennent au lexique de la perception. Ces mots décrivent aussi une dynamique, un mouvement: le fai d'élever (*raf*), de redresser (*naṣb*), de tirer (*ḡarr*) ou d'abaisser (*ḥafḍ*). Ces appellations sont-elles seulement de hasard? Décrivent-elles des mouvements en rapport avec la voix, comme il a été soutenu? En tout cas, il est certain que le sens de *'āmil* dans la langue correspond bien à la détermination conceptuelle par laquelle il faut le caractériser: celle d'un opérateur qui requiert des places. Excepté les cas licites de *ta'ltq*, un gouverneur doit nécessairement gouverner et requiert donc des positions d'éléments gouvernés. Les analyses du texte le confirment: Si le verbe *kāna* (verbe être au passé), par exemple, se trouve dans une structure en première position, cela induit nécessairement la présence de deux positions à saturer qui sont les positions déterminées par *kāna* en tant qu'opérateur gouvernant deux éléments.⁴¹

17 *kāna man ya'tūnī 'ātt-hi* (390.4)

Je rendais visite à qui me rendait visite

Le texte justifie l'absence de la flexion modale du jussif sur les deux verbes bien qu'ils soient précédés par *man* du fait que *man* doit fonctionner dans la structure comme un élément gouverné par *kāna*, donc comme un simple relatif: "Tu as supprimé le jussif ... car il n'est pas licite que tu laisses *kāna* "suspendu" sans éléments à gouverner" [c.19]. Mais là aussi, la théorie du *'amal* n'est pas seule à déterminer des positions qu'il est nécessaire de saturer. La théorie de la prédication et de la transitivité⁴² définissent des positions saturables. Si l'on vient aux termes du Livre, les deux termes de la prédication (le *musnad* et le *musnad 'ilayhi*) sont définis comme "deux termes dont l'un ne peut se passer de l'autre et dont le locuteur ne peut se passer" [c.20]. D'emblée, nous avons donc deux positions dans tout énoncé, dès lors que le locuteur commence à proférer quelque chose. Qu'on ne se fie pas au quantitatif: si la théorie du *'isnād* ne fait pas l'objet de grands développements dans le Livre, elle est, cependant, essentielle: Elle crée des positions. Ces analyses ne sont pas simplement théoriques. On en retrouve les effets dans le Livre: Un terme semble bien indiquer l'identité du concept dans tous ces cas. C'est celui de *ṣaḡala*. Le terme signifie littéralement occuper, absorber. De par son statut linguistique, il signifie être l'argument qui sature l'opérateur-gouverneur, en s'insérant dans la position qu'il requiert.

2.2 La relation désignée par *ṣaḡala*

ṣaḡala renvoie, dans certains passages, à la saturation d'un prédicat, par l'insertion d'un terme dans une position d'argument relevant de ce prédicat.
a - le sujet d'un verbe actif:

⁴¹ Ce que nous identifions là est ce que Milner (1989) appelle sites dans. Mais il suit de cela que les sites ne sont pas univoquement étiquetés, s'ils le sont. Une théorie de la marque - ou du simple - fait qu'ils ont préférentiellement telle étiquette catégorielle, par exemple celle d'un GN. Mais rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'un autre groupe catégoriel, par exemple une phrase, occupe le site dit, i.e. sature la place requise par le gouverneur, sans que néanmoins, il porte une flexion.

⁴² Pour la transitivité, il s'agit uniquement des positions de l'objet (direct ou indirect).

- 18 a *ḡahaba zaydun*
est allé Zayd -nom
Zayd s'en est allé
- b *ḡaraba 'abdullāhi zaydan* (10.21)
a frappé Abdallah-nom Zayd-acc
Abdallah a frappé Zayd
- c *ḡaraba zaydan 'abdullāhi*
a frappé Zayd-acc Abdallah-nom
Abdallah a frappé Zayd

Les mots en caractères gras sont ceux dits "occupant" l'opérateur-gouverneur, i.e. le saturant la place de la variable. En 18 b, le verbe *ḡaraba* est dit "occupé" par *'abdullāh* de la même manière que *ḡahaba* est "occupé" par *zaydun* en 18 a. Quant à l'exemple 18 c, le commentaire du texte souligne que, quel que soit l'ordre respectif du sujet et de l'objet, le Cas assigné à *'abdullāh* ne change pas car "tu n'as point voulu "occuper" le verbe par un élément plus prioritaire" [c.21].⁴³

b - Le sujet du verbe passif:

- 19 a *ḡahaba zaydun* (10.16) cf. 18 a
b *ḡariba zaydun* (10.17)
a été frappé Zayd-nom
Zayd a été frappé

Le texte commente 19 b en disant que l'objet est au nominatif, à l'instar du sujet en 19 a, "car tu n'as point "occupé" le verbe par quelqu'autre élément ... comme tu l'aurais fait pour le sujet [en 19 a]" [c.22]. En d'autres termes, un verbe ayant deux arguments (*ḡaraba*) fonctionne au passif comme un verbe doté d'un seul argument: *ḡahaba*.

c - Le *maṣḍar* considéré comme sujet du passif

- 20 *ḡariba bihi ḡaribun ḡa'fīn* (96.20)
il a été frappé par lui le fait de frapper-nom faible-nom
Une légère correction a été infligée avec cela [cet objet]

"Tous les *maṣḍars* se voient assignés par leur verbe le nominatif, si tu n'"occupes" pas le verbe par quelqu'autre élément" [c.23].

d - L'objet comme argument du verbe

- 21 *'ammā tamūdu fa-hadaynāhum* (31.20)
Quant à Tamūd-nom nous avons guidé-eux
Quant à Tamūd, nous les avons guidés sur le droit chemin

"Construire" le verbe sur le nom (i.e. en faire un *ḡabar* du nom) ne donne de bon résultat que dans la mesure où tu as fait gouverner le pronom par le verbe et tu l'as "occupé" par lui, sinon le résultat aurait été incorrect car tu ne l'aurais "occupé" par aucun élément" [c.24]. C'est là l'origine du chapitre du *'istiḡāl* qu'on retrouve dans tous les traités ultérieurs. Le terme a pour origine le Livre et la théorie des gouverneurs — opérateurs: Dans la mesure où le verbe comme opérateur est déjà pourvu d'un argument (est "occupé"), il ne gouverne point le nom à l'initiale qui est, dès lors, gouverné d'une autre manière. Dans l'exemple précédent, le fait de gou-

⁴³ Voir aussi 31.14 pour un exemple similaire à 18 b, où également le sujet est dit *"awwal mā taṣḡalu bihi l-fīl"*.

verner et d'être "occupé" par un argument sont associés dans le texte. Mais d'autres passages sont encore plus explicites: On trouve *šaḡala* employé pour *'inna* et *kāna*, en tant qu'ils requièrent des gouverneurs, donc des places à saturer. Il s'agit de l'exemple 17 repris en 22 b.

- 22 a *'inna man ya'ttīf 'ātīhi* (390.3)
certes qui rend visite-moi je rends visite-lui
Certes, je rends visite à qui me rend visite
b *kāna man ya'ttīf 'ātīhi* (390.4)
Je rendais visite à qui me rendait visite (cf.17)
c *'inna-hu man ya'ttīf na'tīhi* (390.8)
certes-lui qui rend visite-nous rendons visite-lui
C'est que nous rendons visite à qui nous rend visite

On s'en souvient, en 22 b, *man* ne peut gouverner les deux verbes au jussif car il doit fonctionner comme argument de *kāna*, donc comme un relatif. Le même raisonnement est tenu mutatis mutandis pour la première phrase, le gouverneur-opérateur étant *'inna*. Toutefois, dans l'exemple 22 c, le pronom *-hu* sature la place de la variable requise par l'opérateur. Il "occupe" le gouverneur *'inna*. *man* peut, dès lors, fonctionner comme opérateur (ou signaler la présence sous-entendue de l'opérateur *'in*) et gouverner les deux verbes au jussif. La condition est donnée explicitement en des termes généraux: "Si tu "occupes" ces éléments par quelque chose, tu peux mettre les verbes au jussif [c. 25].

2.3 La relation désignée par *mabnīf 'alā*

Une seconde expression désigne également cette institution des positions grammaticales requises par la présence d'un opérateur. Elle concerne uniquement les théories de la transitivité et de la prédication. Il s'agit du terme *mabnīf 'alā* qui signifie littéralement "construit sur". Levin en circonscrit l'usage. L'emploi renvoie essentiellement à l'une des parties indispensables de la phrase.⁴⁴ A vrai dire, il fait signe à la théorie du *'isnād*, en constitue le relais dans le corps de l'ouvrage. Ainsi, le nom (est) construit sur le verbe". C'est le cas de la phrase verbale où le nom (sujet) est le second terme de la prédication pour Sībawayhi. Et "le verbe (est) construit sur le nom".⁴⁵ C'est le cas de ce qui est dit par la tradition ultérieure "phrase nominale" à prédicat verbal. Mais la notion de *mabnīf 'alā l-fīl* (ce qui est construit sur le verbe) va bien au-delà du sujet et regroupe, entre autres, ce qu'on appelle, dans certaines théories contemporaines, les arguments du verbe, soit l'objet direct et indirect, en somme ce qui est susceptible d'être donné par la théorie de la transitivité. Les termes en caractères gras dans le paradigme suivant sont dits dans le texte "construits sur le verbe".⁴⁶

- 23 a *halaka l-qawmu* (39.8)
a péri les gens
les gens ont péri

⁴⁴ Levin 1985.

⁴⁵ *'al-ismu l-mabnīyyu 'alā l-fīl wa-l-fīl lu l-mabnīyyu 'alā l-ismi*

⁴⁶ Ils n'épuisent pas tous les cas qu'on trouve dans le Livre. Ils figurent à titre d'illustration.

- | | | |
|---|--|---------|
| b | <i>darabtu zaydan</i> | (31.12) |
| | j'ai frappé Zayd | |
| c | <i>marartu bi-zaydin</i> ⁴⁷ | (37.1) |
| | Je suis passé près de Zayd | |

Il est fondamental de voir que ce sont ces concepts, notamment celui de *mabnī 'alā* qui identifient le *mubtada'*, désigné souvent comme "le nom sur lequel le verbe est construit",⁴⁸ autrement dit identifié par la théorie de la prédication, et non un critère d'ordre linéaire: par exemple que le *mubtada'* soit en première position. Il en est de même pour l'objet du verbe: sa position importe peu. Ce qui importe, c'est de voir où se situe la prédication. Preuve en est le titre du chapitre 24 par exemple: "Ceci est le chapitre où le nom est construit sur le verbe, qu'il soit à l'initiale ou postposé et où le verbe est construit sur le nom" (31.12).

En somme, on aura montré, dans les développements qui précèdent, une dimension essentielle de la théorie du *'amal*, dimension qui en modifie la portée théorique: C'est une théorie des opérateurs syntaxiques. A ce titre, elle se trouve liée dans la littéralité du texte à d'autres théories qui, dans l'entendement contemporain, impliquent des opérateurs: les théories de la prédication et de la transitivité. Mais l'analyse en termes de saturation d'une position requise par un opérateur syntaxique n'éclaire pas la seule littéralité du texte. Elle permet un regard nouveau sur certaines analyses empiriques du Livre, notamment celles de *'išnūna dirhaman*.

2.4 *'išnūna dirhaman*

Carter, dans un article important, a attiré l'attention sur un ensemble de tours dont le paradigme est le célèbre *'išnūna dirhaman* (vingt dirhams). Ils illustrent une analyse, abandonnée dans la tradition grammaticale ultérieure, de ce qui sera appelé plus tard *tamyiz* et *hāl* dans une phrase nominale. Ces tours se laissent tous caractériser par deux points: la séparation entre le gouverneur et l'élément gouverné et leur non-identité référentielle. Ce sont ces deux caractéristiques qui se retrouvent au fondement du Cas assigné au nom. Owens (1990) reprend le débat et conclut qu'il existe deux concepts différents qui assignent le *naṣb* (du nom): celui du gouvernement fondé sur la transitivité et celui fondé sur la séparation et la non-identité référentielle (*al-ḥaṣl wa-l-muḡāyara*). En fait, les deux types d'assignation de Cas sont nommés par le même concept dans le texte: celui de *'amal*. On prendra ici à la lettre le texte arabe et on tentera de voir les déterminations communes aux deux cas. On verra qu'il n'existe pas deux concepts de *'amal*, mais bien un seul. Les deux types de *'amal* mettent en jeu les mêmes déterminations conceptuelles: ce qui diffère c'est la valeur de ces déterminations, notamment la nature du gouverneur. La démonstration tiendra en trois mouvements:

- 1- Le calcul de la référence des deux termes est impliquée dans tous les types de gouvernement. Il est inhérent au concept de gouvernement lui-même.
- 2- Ce qui est dit séparation n'est pas un critère géométrique mais un critère géométrique dérivé: il s'agit de la saturation d'une position. Or, on l'a vu plus haut,

⁴⁷ L'exemple est ainsi commenté: "*banayta 'alayhi l-ma'f'ila wa-'in kāna l-f'lu lā yaṣilu 'ilayhi 'illa bi-ḥarfin*" (37.3).

⁴⁸ *al-ism al-mabnī 'alayhi l-f'l*.

la saturation des positions est impliquée dans toute relation de 'amal.

3- ce qui distingue *al-faṣl wa-l-muḡāyara* du 'amal ordinaire, c'est la nature du gouverneur.

La démonstration portera, dans ce passage, sur le premier terme du concept, sur ce qui est décrit par le verbe *ḥāla* (litt: intervenir, se placer entre deux choses). Pour comprendre ce dont il s'agit, il faut en appeler à la saturation des positions canoniques déterminées par les théories du 'amal, de la transitivité et de la prédication. Soit les exemples suivants où les termes soulignés les gouverneurs des noms qui sont en finale et les termes en caractères gras sont ceux à propos desquels est utilisé le verbe *ḥāla*.

- | | | |
|------|--|----------|
| 24 a | <i><u>darabtu</u> 'abdallāhi qā'imān</i> | (15.22) |
| | j'ai frappé Abdallah-acc se levant-acc | |
| | J'ai frappé Abdallah debout | |
| b | <i><u>dahaba</u> zaydun rākiban</i> | (15.22) |
| | est parti Zayd-nom chevauchant-acc | |
| | Zayd s'en est allé à dos d'une monture | |
| c | <i><u>lī miṭṭuhu</u> raḡulan</i> | (16.5) |
| | à-moi similaire-nom-lui homme-acc | |
| | J'ai un homme comme lui | |
| d | <i><u>lahu</u> 'isrīna dirhamān</i> | (16.6) |
| | à-lui vingt-nom-na dirham-acc | |
| | Il a vingt dirhams | |
| e | <i><u>fa'altu dāka</u> ḥidāra š-šarri</i> | (155.1) |
| | j'ai fait cela le fait d'éviter-acc le mal-gén | |
| | Je l'ai fait pour éviter les choses désagréables | |
| f | <i><u>'anta r-raḡulu</u> 'ilman</i> | (170.19) |
| | Toi l'homme-nom savoir-acc | |
| | Tu es l'homme parfait, quant à ta science. | |

La question est la suivante: pourquoi les termes en caractères gras sont-ils qualifiés comme "séparant" l'opérateur-gouverneur du nom qui vient en dernier en 24 a-c et qui, du coup, se voit assigné l'accusatif? Cette notion de "séparation" dans la théorie est bien étrange. Entendue de manière géométrique, elle pose la question de la cohérence de la théorie du gouvernement dans le texte: On l'a vu, sous le chef de *faṣl* entre l'élément gouverneur et gouverné, le texte étudie les conditions dans lesquelles un terme quelconque X peut, géométriquement, séparer l'élément gouverneur de l'élément gouverné et voici que, par le truchement d'un autre terme, le verbe *ḥāla*, le Livre invoque la séparation comme critère d'assignation du Cas accusatif à un nom. Le verbe *ḥāla bayna* signifie littéralement se placer entre deux choses; Ce sens dans la langue semble faire relever la notion grammaticale de la géométrie. Toutefois, ce même verbe a une connotation qui n'a rien de géométrique et qui nous importe en premier lieu ici: celle d'"empêcher", de "rendre impossible". C'est cette connotation qu'il faut retenir pour la notion grammaticale; Celle-ci ne relève nullement de la géométrie et n'a aucun rapport avec la notion de *faṣl* entre le gouverneur et l'élément gouverné. Pour s'en convaincre, soit l'exemple 25:

- | | | |
|----|--|---------|
| 25 | <i><u>fi-hā</u> 'abdullāhi qā'imān</i> | (223.2) |
| | Dans-elle Abdallah-nom se levant-acc | |
| | Abdallah y est, debout | |

fīhā est dit "se placer entre" le gouverneur éventuel *ʿabduḥlāhi* et *qā'imān*. Cette "manière de se placer", on le voit bien dans l'exemple, n'a rien de géométrique, puisque *ʿabduḥlāhi* et *qā'im* sont contigus. En fait, la présence de *fīhā*, en tant que *ḥabar* gouverné par *ʿabduḥlāhi* sature la place requise par cet opérateur et empêche donc celui-ci de fonctionner comme opérateur assignant le Cas nominatif à *qā'im* [c.26].

Cette analyse doit être étendue à tous les exemples du paradigme 24: A chaque fois, il s'agit d'un terme qui sature une place requise par l'opérateur. Ce faisant, il empêche le terme en finale d'occuper cette place et d'être gouverné à ce titre par l'opérateur: En 24 a, *ʿabdullāhi* sature la position de l'objet mais le verbe *ḡaraba* peut toujours fonctionner comme opérateur-gouverneur assignant l'accusatif à *qā'im*. En 24 b, le terme *zayd* sature la place du sujet requise par le gouverneur *ḡahaba*, mais celui-ci peut assigner l'accusatif à *rākib*. En 24 c, le pronom clitique *-hu* sature la place du génitif adnominal gouvernée par le nom *miḡl*. Le gouverneur de *raḡul* est alors toute la séquence: *It miḡluhu*. Le *tanwīn*, dans l'exemple paradigmatique 24 d, sature la position du génitif adnominal et empêche donc le nom qui le suit d'être au génitif. Enfin, dans les exemples 24 e et f, les passages n'indiquent pas explicitement quels sont les éléments qui "empêchent" le nom accusatif en finale d'occuper une place requise par l'opérateur. Il est aisé à chaque fois de les déduire: dans les deux exemples, la séquence qui précède est un énoncé complet. En 24 e, *ḡāka*, en saturant la position de l'objet, empêche ce qui la suit d'être l'objet et d'être gouverné par le verbe. C'est toute la séquence *fa'altu ḡāka* qui est analysée comme gouverneur. La même analyse doit être étendue mutatis mutandis pour 24 f où c'est le *ḥabar* qui sature la place requise par le gouverneur *'anta*. *'ilman* est alors gouverné par toute la séquence qui précède. L'interprétation de *ḡāla* pour laquelle nous avons opté reçoit une confirmation dans l'analyse de 24 d: Le texte emploie, pour analyser cet exemple, le verbe *mana'a*, lequel signifie littéralement empêcher: "Le *nūn* de *'iṣṣina* empêche ce qui la suit d'être au Cas génitif" [c.27].

2.5 Le calcul minimal de la référence des termes

Soit le second critère impliqué dans ces analyses: la non-identité référentielle des termes. On l'affirmait plus haut, toute relation de *'amal* implique un calcul, du moins minimal, de la référence des termes. La question, à elle seule, mériterait un long débat. On se limitera ici à en dire fort peu de choses, excepté peut-être pour ce qui est de la référence des propositions qui seront traitées dans les sections 5. et 7.4. La condition de la non-identité référentielle des éléments gouverneurs et gouvernés est, en fait, tellement un primitif de l'analyse qu'elle n'est jamais énoncée comme telle.⁴⁹ Dans le cas général, les termes gouverneurs et gouvernés sont des catégories différentes. Ils ont, par conséquent, des propriétés référentielles diffé-

⁴⁹ La relation de gouvernement n'implique pas, en revanche, une non-inclusion structurale. La grammaire signale les cas où elle n'est pas respectée: 410.12 *ḡāḡā li-yu'lama 'anna š-šay'a yakūnu wa-ka'annahu mina l-ḡarfi l-'awwali wa-ḡad 'amila fīhi*. En fait, le principe concerne plusieurs catégories de gouverneurs: *'an* + V qu'elle gouverne = un seul nom, *'anna* + les éléments gouvernés = un seul nom et enfin les relatives réduites *ra'aytu ḡ-ḡāriba 'abdu zaydun*: Toutes ces séquences sont équivalentes (*bi-manzilati*) à un seul nom comme *ar-raḡulu* et *al-fa'id*. Enfin, le cas du *ḡarr* est très précisément bâti sur cette inclusion.

rentes: la référence des verbes n'est pas celle des noms ni celle des particules. La condition devient énonçable quand les éléments gouverneurs et gouvernés appartiennent à la même catégorie ou bien quand la relation de gouvernement implique de quelque manière deux termes ainsi définis. Le cas se présente pour les noms dans deux contextes précis: à l'intérieur du groupe nominal ou pour les deux termes de la phrase nominale. En 237.2., Sībawayhi classe les modificateurs du nom (*wasf*) selon deux critères. Un critère structural: le *wasf* fait partie du nom. Il forme un seul constituant avec le nom (*huwa mini smihi*) et un critère référentiel: Certains éléments qui sont des *wasf* ont même référence que l'élément qu'ils modifient (*huwa huwa*).

Ces relations, qui sont au nombre de trois, ne sont pas celles d'élément gouverneur/gouverné. Elles nous intéressent ici dans le premier cas, ainsi décrit: "Sache que le nom est modifié par quelque chose qui a la même [référence] et qui forme un seul constituant avec lui".⁵⁰ La relation structurale et référentielle détermine, en effet, le Cas du modificateur adjectival: Celui-ci porte un Cas identique à celui du nom. Il existe donc au moins un contexte explicite dans lequel le calcul de la référence est à l'origine du nominatif, de l'accusatif ou du génitif à l'intérieur du groupe nominal. Dans le premier exemple, l'identité de la référence entre les deux termes implique une identité de Cas et, du moins, à l'intérieur du nom, un non-gouvernement mais un accord.⁵¹ Si nous reprenons maintenant les paradigmes qui nous concernent, on peut déjà observer que la non-identité référentielle n'est posée que pour identifier le type de rapports qui peut exister entre les éléments de la séquence et donc identifier le gouverneur et la nature de la relation de gouvernement. Mais elle ne sert pas elle-même de critère positif pour définir un gouverneur. En 25, par exemple, la question de l'identité référentielle n'est pas envisagée et ne pourrait d'ailleurs l'être entre *zayd* et *qā'im* puisque, dans un exemple structurellement similaire, ils sont dits identiques, quant à leur référence.⁵² En fait, dans cet exemple, la question à poser pour identifier le gouverneur et le Cas du nom en finale est: Quel élément sature la place du *ḥabar*? Par contre, la question de l'identité référentielle se pose pour l'exemple paradigmatique 24 d; la relation est, en effet, entre deux noms. Il convient donc de savoir si *dirham* forme un seul constituant avec *'isrūna* et a la même référence, ce qui pourrait l'identifier comme *ṣifa* justiciable du même Cas. Comme la réponse est négative,⁵³ la relation de gouvernement est

⁵⁰ *ʿIṣṣam ʿanna ʃ-ʃayʿa yuṣafu bi-ʃ-ʃayʿi llaḏi huwa huwa wa-huwa min(i) smihi: ḥāḏā zaydun at-tawṭu. (237.2)*

⁵¹ *"šāra n-naʿtu maḡrūrān miḡla l-manʿū"* (178.11) sans que néanmoins le *manʿū* ne soit son gouverneur. Un autre passage indique que si le modificateur adjectival du nom prend le même Cas que le nom, c'est bien parce qu'il fait partie intégrante de la référence, la notion de *"ism wāḥid"* impliquant un seul référent: (178.12) Dans *maratu bi-raḡulin zarṣūn*, Sībawayhi commente en disant que tu ne veux pas [désigner] une occurrence de l'ensemble des hommes dont chaque élément est un homme, mais une occurrence dont chaque élément est un homme *zarṣ*.

⁵² Il s'agit de *ḥāḏā zaydun dāḥibān*, en tant que *wasf* ainsi qualifié par rapport au nom: *huwa huwa wa-huwa min(i) smihi* (237.3).

⁵³ Voir également 237.4. *yuṣafu bi-ʃ-ʃayʿi llaḏi laysa bihi wa-laysa min ismihi: ḥāḏā dirhamun wazan wa-lā yaknū ʿilla naṣṣan.*

donc différente et le gouverneur l'est aussi: C'est toute la séquence *'išnīna* qui assigne l'accusatif à *dirham*. La même analyse est faite pour 24 c (154.18). En somme, qu'il y ait identité de Cas ou Cas accusatif assigné au nom, le calcul de la référence des termes nominaux est essentiel pour identifier la nature de la relation de gouvernement.

L'observation que nous venons de faire est loin d'épuiser toutes les questions que pose la référence en relation avec la théorie du gouvernement. Elle suffit pour notre propos. Elle établit, si elle est correcte, que le calcul minimal de la référence des termes est impliqué dans la relation de gouvernement. On verra que ce calcul est essentiel pour ce qui est de la référence des propositions. Mais pourquoi, alors, cet air étrange qu'ont les relations de *'amal* dans le paradigme de *'išnīna dirhaman*? En fait, il existe une différence essentielle avec les relations de gouvernement qu'on trouve dans les traités ultérieurs. Elle porte sur la nature des gouverneurs. On peut l'énoncer comme suit:

26 Le gouverneur peut être une séquence.

Il en est ainsi pour la plupart des cas du paradigme de *'išnīna dirhaman*. C'est le cas en 24 c, e, f. Les textes à cet égard sont tout à fait clairs.⁵⁴

La proposition est un corollaire de l'analyse en termes de positions saturables. Une suite gouverne parce que les positions définies par la relation de prédication ou la transitivité sont saturées. Mais notons-le, ceci n'est pas spécifique du gouvernement des noms. Une suite verbale aussi gouverne: L'analyse est attribuée à *faṭīl* selon qui dans 27:

27 *'in ta'ti-nī 'āti-ka*

(386.13)

Si tu me rends visite je te rendrai visite

Le verbe *'ātika* est au jussif par l'effet de gouvernement de la séquence qui le précède: *'in ta'ti-nī* [c.28]. Ce point est abandonné dans la théorie ultérieure en faveur d'une analyse où le gouverneur est le verbe ou ce qui lui ressemble.⁵⁵ En fait, on peut dire ici que la différence d'analyse résulte d'une proposition différente sur la nature des gouverneurs: Dans la tradition ultérieure, seules les catégories syntaxiques gouvernent.⁵⁶ Mais c'est là aussi, disons-le, le cas général dans le Livre: les éléments gouverneurs et gouvernés, hormis des exceptions notables sur lesquelles je vais revenir, sont les catégories grammaticales (*al-ism*, *al-fi'l*, *al-ḥarf*) considérées comme des entités syntaxiques, non des items lexicaux ou des formes morphologiques, ou simplement des termes non caractérisés, α ou β .

On aura donc développé ci-dessus que l'identité du concept de gouvernement se soutenait, pour l'essentiel, d'une identité de la relation formelle et des conditions topiques auxquelles elle obéit. Les termes sont essentiellement des catégories, non des items lexicaux; les relations des relations d'ordre. Toute l'analyse du verbe et des particules, du moins dans son mode d'exposition, semble déterminée par ces critères formels: critères d'antécédence du nom ou du verbe, critère de gouvernement (les particules qui gouvernent le verbe, qui ne sont pas dans une relation de gouver-

⁵⁴ On se reportera à 16.7 pour l'exemple c et à 201 pour l'exemple f *'anta r-raḡulu 'ilman*: "*'amila fīhi mā qablahu kamā ya'malu fī d-dirhami 'išnīna*".

⁵⁵ Cf. Owens 1990.

⁵⁶ Mais voir les réserves sur ce point en 3.2.

nement avec le verbe, etc). Mais il semble qu'il faille aller plus loin. Car la relation formelle est nouée de manière plus précise à une théorie sémantique, à une théorie de l'énonciation, et à la manière dont la langue construit la référence de l'énoncé. On l'a vu, quelques lézardes se laissent déjà entrevoir dans l'édifice formel, allant dans ce sens. D'autres points montrent qu'il est nécessaire de lier l'identité du concept de gouvernement à ces théories. Ce sont ces points qu'on développera dans ce qui suit.

3. La nature des gouverneurs

Que la notion de *'amal* se fonde sur une analyse sémantique et énonciative, une analyse rapide de la nature des gouverneurs permet d'en juger. Je voudrai m'interroger ici sur deux gouverneurs: le verbe, abordé à partir de la théorie de la transitivité (*at-ta'addf*) et l'*ibtidā'*.

3.1 *at-ta'addf*

Owens 1990 le signale à juste titre, une partie des relations de gouvernement se fonde sur une théorie de la transitivité. A vrai dire, elles se fondent sur ce que le Livre appelle *ta'addf*. Or la théorie du *ta'addf* se distingue en plusieurs points essentiels de ce qui est dit transitivité dans la tradition occidentale, y compris dans la linguistique contemporaine. Certaines de ses différences importent à notre propos. On distingue d'ordinaire, dans les théories courantes de la transitivité, entre compléments du verbe et compléments de la phrase. Ces derniers sont dits tels en tant qu'énonçant les circonstances diverses (de lieu, de temps, de manière) dans lesquelles a eu lieu la relation prédicative. Les premiers ont un lien plus étroit à l'unité lexicale verbale. Rien de tel dans la notion de *ta'addf*. Elle intègre des entités qu'on peut juger disparates, si l'on prend pour mesure du jugement les théories occidentales. Elle inclut nommément les compléments du verbe, le complément d'objet interne et une partie de ce qui est dit compléments de phrase, ceux de lieu et de temps. Cela parce que l'analyse du *ta'addf*, présentée comme expliquant le *'amal* de certains éléments (11-12),⁵⁷ se fonde sur l'analyse de ce qu'on peut appeler le concept de verbe. Celui-ci, dit le texte, intègre, de manière inhérente, dans son concept ou dans sa morphologie, le sens d'un événement spécifique et les concepts de temps et d'espace. De manière inhérente, car précise le Livre, si l'on dit:

28 *ḍaraba 'abdu'llāh* (11.7)
a frappé Abdallah-nom
Abdallah a frappé

cela ne nous apprend rien sur l'objet spécifique du verbe; s'il s'agit, en l'occurrence, de *zayd* ou de *'amr*.⁵⁸ Par contre,

⁵⁷ *'amal* intervient en variation libre avec *ta'addf* dans le texte, ainsi dans ce passage: 11.6 *'yata'addf 'ilā smi l-ḥadaṭāni llaḡf 'uḥida minhu* et il ajoute en 11.10: *'lammā 'amila ft l-ḥadaṭ*, l'implication étant que le *ta'addf* implique le *'amal*. Cela est du reste implicite dans toutes les analyses du passage cité. Voir également Levin 1981 qui note des observations similaires.

⁵⁸ *'lam yustaban 'anna l-maḥḥāla zaydun 'aw 'amrun* (11.8)

29 *ḡahaba*

est allé

Il s'en est allé

(11.8)

désigne un événement spécifique [c.29]. Cela a une conséquence: Le verbe, même intransitif, gouverne le nom de l'événement, à savoir le *maṣḍar*. Quant au temps, le verbe y renvoie de manière inhérente car il a des formes différentes correspondant à des valeurs temporelles différentes [c.30].⁵⁹ On aura à revenir, plus bas, sur les désignations du verbe et sur les valeurs temporelles. Pour l'heure, on se limitera à remarquer le même attachement à ce que j'appelle la littéralité de la marque, la matérialité de la langue: C'est dans la mesure où le verbe, de manière inhérente, cette fois, de par ses formes, renvoie à des valeurs temporelles qu'il gouverne syntaxiquement un complément de temps.⁶⁰ Ainsi dans les exemples suivants:

30 a *qa'ada ṣahrayni*

il est resté deux-mois-acc

b *sa-'aḡhabu ḡadan*

j'irai demain-acc

Enfin le verbe, en tant qu'entité syntaxique, gouverne un complément de lieu car tout événement s'inscrit dans l'espace: dire *ḡahaba*, c'est nécessairement dire que l'événement a eu lieu dans l'espace [c.31]. C'est donc l'analyse du sens et de la référence du verbe qui explique qu'il puisse gouverner certains des compléments qu'il gouverne. C'est aussi le sens verbal, mais cette fois, le sens de l'unité lexicale verbale, qui explique le gouvernement des compléments du verbe, au sens d'une théorie de la transitivité occidentale. La grammaire, dans ce cas, ne peut que prendre acte de cette donnée première et constituer des classes lexicales en conséquence. C'est là le sens des formulations qui se donnent comme titres de chapitres: Ceci est le chapitre du sujet que son verbe dépasse [pour aller vers] un objet ou vers deux objets [c.32].

En résumé, la théorie du verbe comme gouverneur se fonde sur une analyse sémantique du verbe. On voit, par là, comment coïncident des positions instituées par la théorie du gouvernement et celles instituées par la théorie de la transitivité.

3.2 L'*ibtidā'* ou la sélection catégorielle comme embrayage: L'homogénéisation du locuteur aux catégories grammaticales

Un second gouverneur, bien étrange, mérite analyse: C'est le gouverneur de ce qui est dit *ismun muṭtada'un*, à savoir l'*ibtidā'*. Le mot signifie littéralement, on le sait, "le fait de commencer". Qu'en est-il du concept grammatical? Trois cas constituent, en fait, des exceptions notables à la règle générale qui vaut pour la nature des gouverneurs dans le Livre, règle qui, on s'en souvient, fait des parties du discours les gouverneurs dans la langue:

a- une suite gouverne: c'est le cas pour certains tours du paradigme illustré par

⁵⁹ Cf. aussi lignes qui suivent et 12.6.

⁶⁰ On le voit, la perspective adoptée par le texte pour parler des valeurs temporelles liées aux formes verbales est étroitement liée au gouvernement du verbe. On ne peut donc être d'accord avec la vue selon laquelle la forme verbale serait, dans le Livre, un repère temporel situant la relation prédictive, comme le soutient BGK, 1990. Voir plus bas l'Annexe 2B.

'*iṣṛūna dirhaman*. Mais aucun trait positif ne distingue cette suite et ne la rend apte à gouverner. Bien au contraire, c'est un trait négatif qui la distingue..

b - un élément défini par sa fonction gouverne: *al-mubtada'*.

c - Le "fait de commencer", *al-ibtidā'*, est un gouverneur.

Bien que les cas a et b modifient la notion de gouverneur posée par la règle générale, ils en demeurent conceptuellement proches, du moins dans la mesure où ils font référence aux termes de l'énoncé lui-même. Le cas c est un cas différent: Il pose comme gouverneur non point un terme de l'énoncé mais quelque chose relevant de l'énonciation, un acte de langage, "le fait de commencer (à énoncer)". En 52.17 *Ṣṭawayhi* insiste de manière explicite sur la similitude entre ce qui relève de l'énonciation et ce qui relève de l'énoncé, pour ce qui est du gouvernement. Dans l'exemple:

31 *zaydun kam marratan ra'aytahu* (52.17)

Zayd-nom combien fois-acc tu as vu-lui

Zayd, combien de fois l'as-tu vu?

le gouverneur de Zayd est l'*ibtidā'* au même titre que le verbe en 32:

32 *qad 'alimtu zaydan kam laqūahu* (52.19)

corr. j'ai su Zayd-acc combien j'ai vu-lui

J'ai su combien de fois tu as rencontré Zayd

est le gouverneur. On remarquera la similitude structurale entre 31 et 32. Elle est voulue pour bien montrer que ce qui est imperceptible en 32 dans l'énoncé lui-même gouverne *zaydun* au même titre que '*alimtu* gouverne *zayd* en 32.

Une première question peut être posée: Y a-t-il quelque inconsistance dans la théorie ou bien cette hétérogénéité des gouverneurs peut-elle être rapportée à des propriétés du langage? Je voudrai identifier l'*ibtidā'*, quant à sa portée théorique, comme un cas particulier d'embranchement. On sait que Jakobson a décrit un certain nombre de catégories grammaticales, ainsi le temps et la personne, comme articulant l'énoncé sur l'énonciation, de là le terme d'embranchement.⁶¹ Milner propose de considérer la sélection lexicale, en tant qu'opération du sujet parlant et de lui seul, comme un cas particulier de l'embranchement.⁶² Dans le Livre, c'est la sélection catégorielle, c'est-à-dire la sélection de telle ou telle catégorie et non la sélection de telle ou telle unité lexicale, qui, en constituant un embrayage, se constitue elle-même comme gouverneur du nom. Le gouverneur du nom que tu sélectionnes (*al-mubtada'*), dit le Livre, c'est le fait que tu commences à énoncer, en d'autres termes que tu embrasses ton énonciation sur un énoncé en sélectionnant un nom comme premier terme de la prédication. C'est ce premier ancrage par le locuteur de l'énoncé, "le point de la subjectivité" selon Milner, que l'on identifie comme gouverneur. En somme, en identifiant ce premier ancrage comme un '*amil*, le locuteur acquiert un statut théorique bien précis: il s'inscrit dans l'énoncé par une trace sensible (le Cas nominatif du nom), une marque empirique homogénéisée par rapport à d'autres (d'autres types de Cas nominatif, le Cas accusatif, etc) et subsumées, toutes, sous le concept de '*amal*.

En d'autres termes, il n'y a pas de locuteur en chair et en os. Le locuteur est ap-

⁶¹ Voir Jakobson 1963; Voir également Benveniste 1966.

⁶² Milner 1980.

préhendé comme un opérateur abstrait, formel: Il est homogénéisé aux catégories grammaticales qui sont des termes de l'énoncé. Cette discrepancy entre les éléments gouverneurs a quelque chose de scandaleux. Dans la tradition ultérieure, la fortune de l'*ibtidā'* comme gouverneur fut bien inégale. On comparera la formulation de Sībawayhi avec celle d'Ibn al-'Anbārī (*Ṭisāf* 44 sq.) pour lequel l'*ibtidā'* est "*at-taḡarrud min al-'awāmil al-lafziyyati*".⁶³ La différence est de taille. Alors qu'Ibn al-'Anbārī fait de l'*ibtidā'* une absence de gouverneurs perceptibles, Sībawayhi en fait un gouverneur positif relevant d'une autre dimension que celle de l'énoncé. D'autres formulations tenteront de réduire l'*ibtidā'* au perceptible. On dira, par exemple, que c'est le fait d'être le premier élément qui fait acquérir au *mubtada'* son Cas. Par cette formulation, on aura glissé de l'énonciation à l'énoncé.

3.3 *ibtidā'* du nom, *ibtidā'* du verbe

Mais la sélection catégorielle peut tout autant porter sur un verbe. Notre analyse prédit donc que la notion d'*ibtidā'* traversera tout le livre et décrira également les cas de sélection d'un verbe. C'est effectivement le cas. On serait tenté de relever le fait en parlant de deux sens d'*ibtidā'* dans le Livre: l'un technique, l'autre commun. Le croire revient à lire le Livre à travers la grille léguée par la tradition. Dans le Livre, les deux usages ont la même détermination conceptuelle: Tant dans le cas du nom que du verbe, il s'agit d'une sélection catégorielle. Déjà le fait que le Livre spécifie à plusieurs reprises qu'il y ait *ibtidā'* des noms dans tel ou tel contexte,⁶⁴ prouve qu'il y a d'autres manières d'*ibtidā'*. Mais c'est l'usage courant d'expressions tel que *fi' l'un mubtada' un* [c.4], *al-fi' lu l-mubtada'* [c.2] et les contextes dans lesquelles ces expressions sont employées qui ne laissent pas de doute sur la similitude de la détermination conceptuelle: Par exemple en 383.12, en 387.14 et en 371.10 on oppose, à chaque fois, un emploi où le la flexion modale du verbe est déterminée par un terme antérieur de l'énoncé (les cas de *haml 'alā 'an*) à un emploi où celle-ci est déterminée par l'articulation de l'énoncé sur l'énonciation (cas d'*ibtidā'*): le locuteur rompt avec l'énoncé antérieur et effectue un nouvel embrayage.⁶⁵ Mais il faut préciser le statut respectif d'*ibtidā' al-fi'* et d'*ibtidā' al-ism*. Alors que tous deux relèvent de la sélection catégorielle, seul le premier est inclus dans la théorie du gouvernement.⁶⁶

"Le fait de commencer" est gouverneur du nom, non du verbe. Le Livre envisage une analyse qui dirait que c'est par l'*ibtidā'* qu'il y a indicatif dans les verbes. Cette conception devait avoir cours parmi les grammairiens désignés comme "ceux qui ont prétendu que les verbes prennent la flexion -u par l'*ibtidā'*" 364.11. Elle revient, en

⁶³ Je remercie Kees Versteegh qui m'a signalé le point.

⁶⁴ Par exemple en 385.2: (*haytu*) *yubtada'u ba'dahā l-'asmā'u*.

⁶⁵ Voir aussi 404.6: *la-taḡallaba 'idā fā'at mubtada'a laysa qabla-hā mā yuhlaṣu bi-hā*. On trouve enfin la notion de *kālm mubtada'*, en 387.8 par exemple. L'*ibtidā'* y a toujours la même détermination conceptuelle: La proposition n'est pas déterminée par les termes antérieurs de l'énoncé mais par une articulation à l'énonciation. Ce cas semble se distinguer des précédents en ceci qu'il semble ne pas s'agir de la sélection d'une catégorie mais de toute une proposition. En fait, il s'y ramène: sélectionner une proposition revient toujours à sélectionner une catégorie (nom ou verbe) comme premier terme de la prédication dans cette proposition. Voir aussi 414.18.

⁶⁶ Sur la notion d'*ibtidā'* dans le Livre comme traité dans BGK 1990 voir Annexe 2B.

fait, à tomber victime de l'empirisme, à déduire de l'identité phonique de la flexion désinentielle (qui est -u aussi bien pour les noms au nominatif que pour les verbes inaccomplis à l'indicatif) l'identité du gouverneur. Aussi est-elle réfutée au nom d'un principe de cohérence de l'analyse: Si d'aucuns soutiennent que l'*ibtidā'* est la raison pour laquelle le verbe prend la flexion -u, alors ils doivent mettre les verbes à l'accusatif dans les contextes où le nom est à l'accusatif et le mettre au Cas oblique dans les contextes où les noms sont au Cas oblique [c.33]. En somme, si l'on déduit de l'identité de la marque l'identité du gouverneur dans ce cas, il faut postuler l'identité des gouverneurs dans toute la langue et l'identité des marques, ce à quoi la langue inflige un démenti évident puisque les verbes ne se mettent jamais au Cas oblique.

Arrêtons-nous in instant sur le raisonnement. Il marque une limite évidente à l'hypothèse d'homogénéité. Si l'on doit subsumer sous le même concept, celui de gouverneur, les flexions de Cas et de mode, il y a néanmoins à reconnaître une hétérogénéité irréductible entre le Cas et le mode: Elle réside dans la nature des gouverneurs qui sont irréductibles les uns aux autres dans chaque cas. On commence, dès lors, à soupçonner pourquoi la question de "la spécialisation des particules" est un chapitre essentiel de cette grammaire. Mais n'anticipons point. On reviendra à cette question plus bas. Toutefois, on peut trouver dans plusieurs passages, par exemple en 397.18, 401.3, un *raf* '*alā l-ibtidā'*' du verbe. Il faut interpréter l'expression en tant que cette partie est de nouveau embrayée par le locuteur et n'a point de rapport avec ce qui précède. *al-ibtidā'* est opposé au *haml* qui assignerait l'accusatif⁶⁷ ou le jussif, on l'a vu déjà par de nombreux exemples dans le paragraphe précédent. L'*ibtidā'* pour le verbe s'il explique l'indicatif, ne l'explique que de manière dérivée. En effet, le verbe se trouve soustrait à l'effet d'un gouverneur qui le précède dans l'énoncé, 'an par exemple. L'énoncé est articulé sur l'énonciation. Du coup, le verbe se retrouve dans la position d'un nom, cela est dit la véritable raison de l'indicatif (voir section 7.3).

En somme, si la sélection catégorielle traverse tout le langage, elle a statut dans la théorie du gouvernement pour une seule partie du discours: en tant que gouverneur des noms. Elle se distingue alors des autres gouverneurs par des propriétés formelles et théoriques spécifiques. Formellement, alors que les autres gouverneurs établissent un domaine qu'on peut dire opaque, interdisant que les éléments gouvernés par eux soient dans la portée d'autres gouverneurs, celui-ci se comporte comme une absence de gouverneur. Il cède la place à un autre gouverneur si celui-ci se présente. C'est là la différence entre:

- 33 a '*abdullāhi munṭaliqun*
Abdallah-nom partant-nom
Abdallah est en route

⁶⁷ Voir aussi 384.4. Le passage confirme l'interprétation que nous avançons. Dans l'analyse d'un vers ('*an lā yağūra wa-yaqsidu*'), il oppose l'*ibtidā'* au *haml* '*alā 'an*', et la glose du cas d'*ibtidā'* est une phrase qui commence par un verbe; il ne s'agit donc point de l'*ibtidā'* d'un nom: '*fa-btada'a*' (d'où l'indicatif du second verbe après *wa*) *wa-lam yaḥmil 'alā 'an kamā taqillu 'alayhi 'allā yağūra wa-yanbağī lahu kadā wa-kadā, fa-l-ibtidā'u ft hādā 'asbaqu wa-'a'rafu*'. Il faut interpréter l'*ibtidā'* ici comme décrivant le statut du verbe et non point comme identifiant son gouverneur.

- b *ra'aytu 'abdallāhi munṭalīqan* (6.18)
 J'ai vu Abdallah-acc partant-acc
 J'ai vu Abdallah en route

'*abdallāh*, gouverné au nominatif en 33 a par l'*ibtidā'*, est à l'accusatif en 33 b car gouverné par le verbe initial. L'*ibtidā'* comme gouverneur a aussi un statut théorique spécifique: c'est ce gouverneur auquel est assigné le statut de premier (*'awwal*): *al-ibtidā'u 'awwalu* (6.19).⁶⁸

3.4 L'articulation sur l'énonciation au milieu d'un énoncé

"Le fait de commencer" n'est pas à prendre en un sens factuel selon quoi dans tout énoncé il existerait un seul commencement. Il est une valeur qui peut se retrouver deux fois dans un même énoncé: A chaque fois qu'un terme ou une proposition considérée comme un terme, plutôt que d'être déterminés grammaticalement par leurs relations avec les autres termes de l'énoncé, se déterminent en s'articulant sur l'énonciation. Tous les exemples qu'on a vu plus haut où le verbe de l'apodose est à l'indicatif après le *fā'* du *ḡazā'* illustrent cela; Cela peut être également dit du cas des verbes à l'indicatif après le *fā'* causal. Pour ce qui est des noms, l'articulation sur l'énonciation qui intervient au milieu de l'énoncé est bien illustrée par le cas de *lām al-ibtidā'* (le *lām* du commencement) susceptible d'annuler l'effet d'un gouverneur. En effet, de la même manière qu'une valeur abstraite énonciative, un embrayage, peut être un opérateur syntaxique assignant un Cas, il est susceptible, du fait même de la notion de domaine qui implique que le gouverneur le plus proche soit sélectionné pour les éléments gouvernés, de provoquer des cas de *ta'fīq*, en d'autres termes d'empêcher l'institution d'une relation entre un gouverneur qui est un terme de l'énoncé et des éléments gouvernés. C'est à quoi se résume l'effet du *lām* appelé *lām al-ibtidā'* [c.34/a]:

- 34 a *qad 'alimtu la-'abdullāhi ḥayrun minka* (100.3)
 corr. j'ai su la-Abdallah-nom meilleur-nom de-toi
 J'ai su que Abdallah était mieux que toi
 b *qad 'alimtu 'abdallāhi ḥayran minka*
 corr. j'ai su Abdallah-acc mieux-acc de-toi
 J'ai su que Abdallah était mieux que toi

En 34, '*abdallāh* et *ḥayr* sont soustraits à l'effet du gouverneur verbal (*'alimtu*), le la fonctionnant comme barrière à l'effet du gouverneur et introduisant une valeur énonciative nouvelle. Ils sont, dès lors, au nominatif, en tant que *mubtada'* et *ḥabar*, non à l'accusatif comme en 34 b. C'est aussi le cas de la particule interrogative '*alif al-istifhām*'. Cette valeur énonciative pervertit, en fait, la notion de localité: Celle-ci, ne prenant en compte que la disposition des termes catégoriels, semblait instituer un espace dans la grammaire où seule la géométrie était pertinente. Les exemples que nous venons de discuter montrent que la nature des termes est fondamentale pour le bon fonctionnement de la localité: *lām al-ibtidā'*, '*alif al-istifhām*' "suspendent" la localité du domaine car ils ont une valeur énonciative. On a, encore une fois, et de manière différente que celle observée pour l'adjacence stricte, la preuve que la théorie du '*amal*' est traversée par le non-géométrique. Si ces ana-

⁶⁸ Nous n'examinerons pas plus avant cette thèse. Cela excéderait le propos de ce travail.

lyses sont correctes, elles signifient qu'une propriété fondamentale du langage est reconnue, l'embranchement. Elle est reconnue, pour les noms, du moins dans ce que nous venons de décrire car elle a également d'autres formes de reconnaissance dans cette grammaire, à travers ce qu'on peut appeler la littéralité de la marque, la matérialité de la langue: c'est dans la mesure où elle a un effet empirique qu'elle a statut linguistique.

On comprend, dès lors, pourquoi seul l'*ibtidā'* des noms a été retenu dans la tradition ultérieure. Du concept théorique de sélection catégorielle portant, pour l'essentiel,⁶⁹ sur une catégorie qui se constitue comme terme dans la prédication et articulant l'énoncé sur l'énonciation, la tradition dans ses formes vulgarisées a retenu ce qui a statut théorique pour la théorie du gouvernement. L'*ibtidā'* du verbe perdait toute valeur linguistique.

4. Locuteur et interlocuteur: le *mubtada'*

Venons-en au nom *mubtada'*. Tout d'abord pour préciser que cette désignation n'est point isolée dans le Livre: y résonne le très riche éventail du verbe *bada'a*⁷⁰ auquel a recours le texte dont, on l'aura compris par les développements précédents, *ismun mubtada'un* - au même titre que *fīhun mubtada'un* ou *kalāmun mubtada'un*. Néanmoins, la notion d *ism mubtada'*, "le nom par lequel on commence", gouverné par cet acte de langage qu'est "le fait de commencer [à énoncer]" est une notion bien définie à laquelle se trouve attachée une valeur énonciative particulière dans le Livre. La notion est définie par rapport à la théorie de la prédication, le point est important. "Le *mubtada'* est tout nom par lequel tu commences afin que tu y construises un énoncé" [c.34/b]. Sa valeur énonciative le fait appartenir à une notion bien connue, qu'on dit thème dans la tradition linguistique française, topique dans la tradition anglo-saxonne. Le thème est déjà évoqué par l'interlocuteur lorsque le locuteur prend la parole. Son existence est présupposée par le locuteur. De ce que tout énoncé ait un thème, il découle donc que l'interlocuteur y est posé.⁷¹ Et cette manière de poser l'interlocuteur constitue l'énoncé même dans sa forme, dans la langue arabe. Les termes du Livre ne laissent aucun doute sur cette valeur du *mubtada'* liée au présupposé, à ce qui est bien établi pour l'interlocuteur et le locuteur. Ainsi dans une interrogative qui commence par un *mubtada'*:

35 *zaydun kam marratan ra'ayahu ?* (52.17)

Zayd-nom combien de fois l'as-tu vu?

la valeur du *mubtada'* est ainsi commentée: Tu commences par un nom pour appeler l'attention de l'interlocuteur [c.35]. Cette valeur, prenant le nom de *tanbīh* dans le Livre, est usuellement assignée au *mubtada'*:

⁶⁹ La particule est susceptible aussi d'être *mubtada'a*. Voir en 411.7: *'ibtada'ta 'innī wa-lam taḡ'ali l-kalāmu 'alā 'arāfu* dans *qad 'arāfu 'anna-hu dāhibun tumma 'innī 'uhbiruka*. Et ibid: *ibtida' inna*. En 366: *'igān mubtada'a*.

⁷⁰ On se reportera au lexique de Troupeau.

⁷¹ Nous n'épuisons pas, par le propos présent, tous les modes de présence de l'interlocuteur dans le Livre.

- 36 a *zaydun ɖarabtuhu*
 Zayd-nom j'ai frappé-lui
 Zayd, je l'ai frappé
- b *'ammā ɬamīdu fa-hadaynāhum* (31.20)
 Quant à Tamūd, nous les avons guidés sur le droit chemin

En 164.9, le Livre commente le Cas du nom à l'initiale dans l'exemple suivants:

- 37 *'ammā l-bašratu fa-lā bašrata la-ka*

Quant au terrain dur et pierreux, il n'y a point de terrain dur pour toi

Dans cet exemple, dit-il, on n'a d'autre alternative que d'assigner le nominatif au nom car il s'agit là d'un nom bien connu: l'interlocuteur, pour ce qui en est de ce nom, en sait autant que toi [c.36]. Le *mubtada'* est également bien établi pour le locuteur. Si le nom à l'initiale est choisi par le locuteur et gouverné par l'*ibtidā'*, c'est que le locuteur ne cherche nullement à établir la prédication d'existence liée à ce nom, mais, au contraire, commence son énoncé par quelque chose qui est bien établi pour lui [c.37]. Par cette notion de *mubtada'*, on se situe aux portes de la pragmatique "qui prend pour paramètres les protagonistes du discours et le contexte dans lequel il s'intègre". Mais précisément, une différence essentielle distingue ces analyses de la pragmatique. Le locuteur et l'interlocuteur sont présents à l'énoncé ou présents dans l'énoncé du seul fait qu'il y ait *ibtidā'* et *mubtada'*. Ils ne sont présents que dans la matérialité de l'énoncé, dans les choix catégoriels qui y sont faits, dans la disposition, la forme morphologique de ces catégories. Il est courant de consacrer un chapitre quand on finit d'exposer les théories des grammairiens arabes aux aspects pragmatiques de ces analyses. Le mouvement est encore plus net dans le cas du Livre. A chaque fois, le discours est pris dans une logique justificative: il serait faux de voir dans le Livre une approche purement formaliste. Il s'est intéressé aux protagonistes du discours, etc. C'est là un contresens profond sur la portée de ces analyses, tant sur la portée de la syntaxe que de la pragmatique. Le contresens est encore plus profond quand ces analyses n'énoncent pas des propositions incorrectes. Il n'y a pas pragmatique et syntaxe. On ne peut dissocier les deux. Il est essentiel de voir comment la dimension énonciative s'inscrit dans la matérialité même de l'énoncé, dans la matérialité des formes phonétiques et des agencements. Elle s'inscrit dans la syntaxe même, au cœur de la théorie du gouvernement.

5. Le Cas du nom, l'ordre des catégories et la valeur assertive

Soit maintenant le second terme de la prédication lié au *mubtada'*, le *ħabar*. Du présupposé, l'énonciateur dit quelque chose dans le reste de son énoncé. De là que ce qui en est dit, et qui est dénommé *ħabar*, en soit venu à signifier trois choses différentes dans le Livre: C'est le posé, donc l'information nouvelle, et, on le sait, *ħabar* signifie littéralement information.⁷² La logique de la désignation du second terme de la prédication est donc celle du posé par rapport au présupposé.

⁷² Voir, par exemple, 213.20. On y commente le cas du nom à l'initiale dans un hémistiche. La valeur informative est absente. La mention du nom, correspondant à du présupposé, en acquiert une valeur rhétorique de *ṭandā'* et *ta'zīm*: *za'ama l-ħalāl 'anna našba ḥaddā 'alā 'annaka lam turid 'an tuḥaddiṭa n-nāsa wa-lā man tuḥaddibu bi-'amrin ḡahilūhu wa-lakinnahum qad 'alimū min ḏḏlika mā qad 'alima fa-fa'alahū ṭandā'an wa-ta'zīman wa-našabahu 'alā l-fī'li ka-'annahū qāla: uḏkur 'ahla ḏāka.*

C'est aussi un prédicat puisqu'un prédicat est précisément ce qui est dit à propos de quelque chose et enfin, c'est une assertion: le locuteur asserte, pose comme vrai ce qu'il en dit. On voit ainsi que l'analyse est amenée à déterminer la valeur d'un énoncé qui inclut un *mubtada'*: il donne une information nouvelle et constitue une assertion. La méthode est systématique: L'analyse de la valeur globale des énoncés est déterminante pour juger du Cas qu'il faut assigner à un nom en début d'énoncé.

Il est de fait qu'on peut lire des chapitres entiers du Livre comme une réponse à la question suivante: Soit un nom en début d'énoncé. Sa présence à l'initiale peut correspondre à une position canonique comme elle peut ne pas y correspondre. Quel Cas lui assigner? Jusque là, les questions semblent être celles classiques de la théorie du gouvernement articulée à l'ordre des mots. Elles commencent à s'en distinguer dans la mesure où le Livre répond à la question en posant une autre: Quelles sont alors les valeurs de l'énoncé? C'est cette évaluation globale de la valeur de l'énoncé qui détermine à chaque fois si c'est bien l'articulation à l'énonciation (*l'ibtidā'*) qui est l'opérateur syntaxique assignant la flexion du nominatif au nom ou bien un opérateur qui correspond à un terme de l'énoncé: le prédicat verbal le plus souvent. Mais de quelle évaluation globale de l'énoncé, de quel "sens" s'agit-il? Il ne s'agit nullement du contenu propositionnel de l'énoncé ni de l'intention du locuteur. Le Livre pose une généralisation qui constitue une hypothèse forte sur le fonctionnement des langues: Il articule le Cas du groupe nominal à l'initiale et la nature de son gouverneur à la valeur assertive de l'énoncé. Soit, par exemple, un nom en début d'énoncé dans l'ordre de l'observable. Décider qu'il est au nominatif ou à l'accusatif revient souvent à décider s'il s'agit d'un *mubtada'*, s'il est dépendant d'une position post-verbale ou bien même s'il est gouverné par un verbe sous-entendu. La réponse ne met pas uniquement en jeu des critères formels mais noue ces critères aux valeurs de l'énoncé: interrogation, souhait, ordre, assertion ... On rencontre de nouveau là la pragmatique: Dans la théorie des actes de langage, une phrase est conçue comme la combinaison d'un contenu propositionnel et d'une force illocutionnaire qui peut consister en une assertion, une question, une promesse, etc. On rencontre également ce que la théorie de Culioli désigne comme "valeurs référentielles" de l'énoncé. Mais on les rencontre à partir d'une théorie du gouvernement. En somme, le Cas du nom à l'initiale est lié à la valeur référentielle de l'énoncé.

C'est là le fil d'ariane de ce qui est dit "étude de l'ordre des mots" dans le Livre qui n'est point tant une étude de l'ordre des mots⁷³ ni des catégories mais une étude de la nature du gouverneur du nom quand celui-ci est à l'initiale. Celle-là se trouve déterminée par la valeur référentielle de l'énoncé. C'est par là précisément que les grands rhétoriciens, al-Ġurġānī par exemple, ont pu reprendre la question dans la ligne déjà tracée par le Livre.⁷⁴ Il suffit de regarder les intitulés des chapitres 24 à 34 et 50 à 57 pour voir la logique de l'approche: Dans le premier groupe, il s'agit de déterminer le Cas du nom à l'initiale. Outre des considérations

⁷³ On l'a vu d'ailleurs plus haut, le *mubtada'* lui-même n'est nullement identifié par l'ordre linéaire.

⁷⁴ Voir Baalbaki 1983 qui signale les différences et les similitudes qu'on peut retrouver entre le Livre et al-Ġurġānī.

structurales et sémantiques,⁷⁵ les deux valeurs fondamentales qui déterminent l'accusatif sont celle de l'interrogation (ch. 28 à 30⁷⁶) et celle de l'ordre et de la prohibition (*al-'amr wa-n-nahy*) (ch. 33). Pour justifier l'accusatif dans ces tours, le Livre commence par avancer une première proposition: Il y a des particules qui sont exclusivement suivies par le verbe, que ce verbe soit explicite ou sous-entendu. Aussi si, dans l'ordre de l'observable, on trouve un nom après ces particules - cela n'ayant lieu que dans des tours marginaux, ceux nécessités par les contraintes du vers -, celui-ci doit être à l'accusatif, car construit nécessairement sur le verbe. Jusque là, on a affaire à une classification des particules. Mais un point est important à noter: Cette classification, on l'a vu, n'est pas fondée sur la seule observation. Il s'agit donc d'une hypothèse d'analyse. La question est alors: Sur quoi se fonde-t-elle? La réponse est donnée à la page suivante: Si les tours interrogatifs requièrent fondamentalement un prédicat verbal qui les suit, et ne tolèrent marginalement un nom à l'initiale que s'il est l'objet d'un prédicat verbal, c'est que l'interrogation, à l'instar de l'ordre et de la prohibition, est non-nécessaire (*ğayr wāğīb*), en ceci que le locuteur demande à l'interlocuteur ce qui, précisément, n'est pas bien établi pour lui [c.38].

Le chapitre 34 élargit la généralisation précédente et subsume explicitement tous ces cas par l'emploi d'un concept sémantique essentiel portant sur la référence de la proposition: *ğayr wāğīb*. "Ceci est le chapitre [qui traite] de particules dont le fonctionnement a été rendu similaire à celui des particules interrogatives et celles exprimant un ordre et une prohibition. Ce sont les particules de négation. Elles ont été rendues similaires au 'a — interrogatif où le nom précède le verbe car elles sont non-nécessaires, exactement comme le — 'a interrogatif et les introducteurs des hypothétiques sont non-nécessaires et ainsi que l'ordre et la prohibition sont non-nécessaires. Il a été aisé d'y faire précéder les noms [les verbes] car elles sont la négation d'[une proposition] nécessaire et elles ne sont pas [exactement] comme les particules interrogatives et conditionnelles mais elles leur ressemblent. Elles sont employées pour la négation de: Cela a été [c.39]. Les exemples sous 38 illustrent le propos:

- 38 a *mā zaydan ɖarabtuhu*
non Zayd-acc j'ai frappé-lui
Ce n'est point Zayd que j'ai frappé

⁷⁵ On peut citer sous le chef des considérations structurales celles de symétrie qui agissent dans une coordination et qui font que le nom à l'initiale dans la proposition coordonnée est nominatif s'il est coordonné à un *mubtada'* quand la première phrase en contient un (*haml 'ald l-ism l-mabnt 'alayhi l-ff'*) ou coordonné à un dépendant du verbe si la première phrase a un verbe fléchi à l'initiale (*haml 'ald l-ff'*):

i *'amrun laqituhu wa-zaydun kallamtuhu*

ii *'amrun laqituhu wa-zaydan kallamtuhu*

36.14

Parmi les considérations à la fois sémantiques et structurales on peut citer celles relatives au *sabab*:

iii *'a-zaydan marartu bi-hi?*

44.3

⁷⁶ Voici le titre du chapitre 28: Ceci est le chapitre où l'accusatif est choisi [pour le nom à l'initiale] alors qu'il n'est pas précédé par un accusatif objet du verbe et c'est le chapitre de l'interrogation (*hadd būbu mā yuḥḍaru fīhi n-naṣbu wa-laysa qabla-hu maṣūbun buniya 'ald l-ff' li wa-huwa būbu l-istiḥāmī*). Le chapitre 30 étudie, en fait, le cas du nom à l'initiale ayant valeur de thème et précédant le mot interrogatif: Il est alors nominatif, l'*ibtida'* étant l'opérateur syntaxique.

- b *lā zaydan qataluhu*
 non Zayd-acc j'ai tué-lui
 Ce n'est point Zayd que que j'ai tué

Dans ces exemples, le nom précède le verbe mais est un dépendant du verbe: il est gouverné par lui. En outre, dans les tours négatifs, le nom peut être aussi au nominatif, articulé à l'énonciation et gouverné par cet opérateur syntaxique. Cela est associé, de manière explicite, à la valeur référentielle de l'énoncé: Ces particules nient une proposition nécessaire. Il est donc possible d'avoir un thème qui les suit et d'avoir un prédicat construit sur ce thème car elles ne fonctionnent pas en tous points à ce à quoi elles ont été rendues similaires [c.40]. Dans ce texte, de manière tout à fait explicite, la possibilité de l'*ibtidā'* est associée à la valeur référentielle de l'énoncé: *kalām wāḡib*. En d'autres termes, seule une proposition "nécessaire" peut avoir un thème. Toute la question certes, est de savoir quelle est la signification linguistique de la notion de *wāḡib*. Remarquons que les propositions qui se rangent sous le chef du *ḡayr wāḡib* dans le Livre sont, pour la plupart, non-assertives: l'ordre, la prohibition, l'interrogation totale. En revanche, l'affirmation est une assertion. De là, la paire *wāḡib/ḡayr wāḡib* semble s'associer avec assertif/non-assertif. C'est par là que nous disions que le Livre associe le Cas à la valeur assertive des énoncés.⁷⁷ Cela, au reste, semble correspondre à une généralisation linguistique réelle et incontournable dans le fonctionnement de l'arabe. Néanmoins, les deux paires *wāḡib/ḡayr wāḡib*, assertif/non-assertif, ne coïncident pas exactement. Le cas des propositions négatives reste, en effet, un cas problématique. On aura à revenir sur la question dans la section 7.4. Il y a dans ces analyses, il importe de le souligner, quelque chose qui dit plus que ce qu'on peut dire sur toute langue, qui cerne une spécificité de la langue arabe: Dans les langues, hors contexte, le sujet d'une proposition tend à être identifié au thème de l'énoncé auquel elle correspond. Mais ces langues, précisément, ont une structure sujet-groupe verbal que n'a pas l'arabe littéraire puisque typologiquement, c'est une langue où le verbe fléchi est à l'initiale. Dès lors, la position de *mubtada'*, position grammaticalisée qui correspond à une valeur existante dans toutes les langues, en acquiert un rôle spécifique. Il suffit pour cela de penser, par exemple, à la phrase nominale.⁷⁸

En somme, par la question du Cas du nom à l'initiale, le *ʿamal* est articulé à une théorie des valeurs référentielles de l'énoncé. Mais on peut soupçonner plus par les développements précédents: le calcul de la référence de l'énoncé est inhérent à la théorie des particules. C'est ce qu'on va tenter de montrer dans ce qui suit.

6. La spécialisation des gouverneurs

A partir de ce qui précède s'éclaire une question bien épincuse: celle de la "spécialisation" des gouverneurs. Il s'agit là d'une thèse qui court dans le Livre et

⁷⁷ On se reportera pour une analyse qui associe, dans le cadre théorique de la linguistique contemporaine, la question de l'ordre des mots à la valeur assertive de l'énoncé à Ayoub 1981.

⁷⁸ On se reportera à Ayoub 1981 pour ce qui est de la phrase verbale et de la valeur du topique dans une langue comme l'arabe, et à Ayoub à paraître pour ce qui est de la phrase nominale.

sert de principe classificatoire des particules: Certaines particules sont exclusives des noms. D'autres sont exclusives des verbes.⁷⁹ C'est là, on le reconnaîtra, une condition bien étrange. Alors que bien des propositions de la théorie du gouvernement trouvent des traductions dans d'autres théories linguistiques, celle-ci spécifie la grammaire arabe. C'est là un premier point à noter. Mais à quoi correspond exactement cette condition? Quel est son statut linguistique? Elle semble, de prime abord, une condition formelle. Elle est, en effet, étroitement liée à la théorie du gouvernement: Si certaines particules sont spécifiques du verbe (et ne sont suivies que par des verbes explicites ou sous-entendus) et d'autres du nom, c'est qu'elles gouvernent respectivement le verbe ou le nom. Le critère du gouvernement est ici décisif. Les textes cités dans le paragraphe précédent le prouvent. Le prouve également que, s'il arrive qu'une particule n'est pas un gouverneur, elle peut être suivie tant du nom que du verbe. C'est le cas de *lākin*, *'innamā*, *ka'annamā*. Le texte pose explicitement la relation: "Ceci est le chapitre des particules qui peuvent être suivies par le nom comme elles peuvent être suivies par le verbe ... car ce sont des particules qui ne gouvernent pas" [c. 41].

Le second point à remarquer est que cette condition constitue une limite à l'hypothèse d'homogénéité: Alors que le gouvernement des noms et celui des verbes obéit aux mêmes contraintes d'ordre, aux mêmes conditions topiques, la nature de leurs gouverneurs les sépare irrémédiablement. Nous l'avons vu explicitement plus haut: les gouverneurs des verbes ne sont pas les gouverneurs des noms [c.3]. (Voir aussi 410.12 pour une citation similaire). Un autre critère de classification des particules semble également formel, plus exactement géométrique. Il est articulé au précédent. C'est celui de l'ordre des catégories qui les suit. C'est du moins ce qui se laisse déduire à la lecture du tête de chapitre 256: "C'est le chapitre des particules où les noms ne peuvent précéder les verbes" (406.1) ou bien du chapitre 257: "C'est le chapitre des particules qui ne peuvent être suivies que du verbe" [c.42]. Mais, on l'a vu pour ce qui est appelé inadéquatement "ordre des mots", il ne s'agit nullement d'un critère d'ordre ni de géométrie. La théorie du gouvernement s'articule à la valeur référentielle des énoncés. Il en est de même de la classification des particules. Celles-ci articulent dans leur classification la théorie du gouvernement à une valeur énonciative. On prendra la mesure de cette relation entre l'ordre des catégories et la valeur assertive des énoncés dans l'étude des particules en passant en revue quelques analyses de particules. Très vite, on voit que l'un des critères fondamentaux est la valeur logique de la proposition: s'agit-il d'une proposition "nécessaire" ou non? On se contentera ici de quelques exemples: On l'a montré plus haut, la présence d'un thème est liée à un trait logico-sémantique de la proposition: son caractère "nécessaire". Cela servira donc de critère pour identifier la valeur des particules. Ainsi *haytu*, contrairement à *matā*, autre pronom locatif de même sens, ne peut introduire la protase d'une hypothétique car elle peut être suivie par un thème dans l'assertion:

39 *'akūnu haytu zaydun qā'imun* [c.43] 385.2
je serai [là] où Zayd-nom [sera] debout-nom

⁷⁹ Les termes employés dans le Livre pour désigner ces emplois spécifiques sont, par exemple: *al-ism 'awlā bihā minā l-f'li* (408.13), *suwayrat li-l-f'li* (408.14), *'ahlasithunna li-l-f'li* (308.4).

Par contre, dans la mesure où elle a le même sens que les introducteurs des hypothétiques, elle sera difficilement suivie par un thème ayant valeur de topique [c.44]. On comparera 40 a et b:

- 40 a ?* *iğlis haytu zaydun ġalasa* (44.9)
 assieds-toi [là] où Zayd-nom il est assis
 b *iğlis haytu ‘abdullāhi ġālisun*
 assieds-toi [là] où Abdallah-nom [est] assis-nom

Le même raisonnement est tenu pour 'iḡā:

- c * *iğlis 'iḡā Zaydun ġalasa / * yağlisu* (45.3 / 45.1)
 assieds-toi quand Zayd-nom est assis / s'assied
 assieds-toi quand Zayd sera assis

Cela est tout à fait possible avec 'iḡ, du fait de la valeur logique de la proposition dans laquelle elle est employée: Il s'agit d'une proposition nécessaire [c.45].

- 41 a *ğī'tu 'iḡ ‘abdullāhi qā'imun* (45.5)
 je suis venu quand Abdallah-nom se levant-nom
 Je suis venu quand Abdallah était debout
 b *ğī'tu 'iḡ ‘abdullāhi yaqūmu*
 je suis venu quand Abdallah-nom se levait

hallā, lawlā, lawmā, ‘allā ne peuvent être suivies d'un thème car elles ont valeur d'exhortation et d'ordre [c.46].

On le voit, les critères de la grammaire sont loin d'être purement géométriques. Au contraire, l'ensemble des thèses qui ont été examinées donnent à la théorie du gouvernement dans le Livre une dimension propre qui la distingue des théories dont on la rapprochait au début de ce travail: A chaque fois la théorie du gouvernement s'articule à la valeur référentielle de l'énoncé et à la valeur logique de la proposition. Cela constitue le point nodal du Livre puisqu'il sert de fil d'Ariane pour deux chapitres essentiels de la grammaire: l'étude des particules et de ce qui est dit ordre des mots dans la phrase. Les mêmes fils, noués de manière différente, servent à expliquer la modalité verbale. C'est l'objet de la section qui suit.

7. L'analyse de la modalité verbale: la question de la flexion verbale

On tentera de montrer, dans cette section, que les gouverneurs du verbe jouent le rôle d'opérateurs sémantiques en un sens bien précis: Ce sont des opérateurs qui requièrent une place de verbe dont la forme flexionnelle fait acquérir à la proposition une valeur référentielle précise. Deux notions sont fondamentales dans cette analyse: celles de *ğayr wāğib* (non-nécessaire) et *lam yaqa'* (ce qui n'a pas eu lieu). Auparavant, on procèdera à quelques observations préliminaires sur la dénomination des formes et l'analyse de la valeur des verbes non gouvernés.

7.1 La dénomination des formes

Versteegh fait remarquer, dans un article sur le temps⁸⁰ chez les grammairiens arabes, que la métalangue de Sībawayhi, quand il s'agit de désigner les formes verbales, relève d'une approche formelle. Elles sont identifiées par leur forme qui leur

⁸⁰ Versteegh 1981.

sert de désignation: *binā' fa'ala / yafalu*. Les formes verbales n'y sont pas en particulier désignées par des termes temporels, comme il le sera par la suite pour la première.⁸¹ L'observation est importante. Cela certes rappelle la prudence des désignations de la linguistique contemporaine. On se reportera aux travaux de M. Cohen et D. Cohen qui parlent de forme préfixale et de forme suffixale. La parenté est d'ailleurs assez grande puisqu'il est fait référence explicite dans le Livre pour l'identification de *yafalu* à deux critères: sa ressemblance avec les noms d'agent et la présence des préfixes [c.47]. Mais surtout cette désignation formelle est importante à noter car elle signifie qu'il n'y a pas d'emblée d'association *bi-* univoque entre une forme verbale et une valeur. Une même forme peut avoir plusieurs valeurs et plusieurs formes peuvent relever d'une seule valeur: La valeur désignée comme "ce qui n'a pas eu lieu" (*mā lam yaqa'* 1.4) est illustrée tant par la forme verbale suffixale (*yafalu*) que par l'impératif. D'autre part, la forme ayant valeur de "ce qui est et ne s'est pas achevé" (*binā' mā lam yanqaṭi' wa-huwa kā'inun* 1.5) est dite être celle-là même que la forme désignant, dans le discours assertif, ce qui n'a pas eu lieu (*binā' mā lam yaqa'... muḥbiran*), à savoir la forme suffixale. D'autre part, les termes utilisés ne décrivent pas des seules valeurs temporelles, on le verra dans un instant.

- La désignation, toujours formelle, de la forme verbale à préfixes, comme "[forme] ressemblante à la forme *fā'il*" (i.e. à la forme nominale participiale ayant valeur de participe actif ou de nom d'agent⁸²) ne se fonde pas sur l'empirique: Ce n'est point parce qu'on peut noter dans les formes phonétiques une variation flexionnelle de la forme préfixale qu'elle en est jugée "ressemblante aux noms". La ressemblance se fonde sur une analyse sémantique. C'est du moins ce qui est dit dans le Livre: "[Les verbes ressemblants] ressemblent au nom d'agent car ils ont le même sens" [c.48]. Les exemples suivants sont donnés pour illustrer le propos:

- | | | |
|------|---|--------|
| 42 a | <i>'inna 'abdallāhi la-yafalu</i>
corr. Abdallah la-fera
Certes, Abdallah [le] fera | (2.11) |
| b | <i>'inna 'abdallāhi la-fā'ilun</i>
corr. Abdallah la-faisant
Certes, Abdallah le fera | |

On reviendra à cette identité de sens. Notons ici que l'assertion est loin d'être injustifiée si on en prend la mesure dans les travaux sur le système verbal entrepris dans le cadre de la linguistique contemporaine. D. Cohen, dans plusieurs de ces travaux, affirme les affinités sémantiques entre le participe actif et la forme préfixale.⁸³

7.2 Les termes du Livre: *waqa'a*, *inqaṭa'a*, *maḍā*

Une analyse des termes décrivant les valeurs des formes verbales s'impose. Pour en apprécier réellement la portée dans le Livre, ils doivent être classés selon deux

⁸¹ On notera également les appellations des chapitres 47 et 49: *'amṭilatu l-fīli l-ḥadiṭi*.

⁸² On se reportera à Ayoub 1991 qui établit ces valeurs et étudie leur distribution dans la langue. On se reportera également à ce travail pour la logique de la dénomination de cette forme chez 'Astarābādī.

⁸³ On se reportera par exemple à D. Cohen 1984.

critères: un critère temporel faisant référence au moment de l'événement. La désignation la plus claire est binaire, opposant une valeur positive à une valeur négative: + passé / -passé. C'est la dénomination en 11.12: "*buniya limā maḍā wa-mā lam yaḥḍi minhu* (i.e. *mina z-zamān*). L'analyse menée pour établir que les compléments de temps sont des dépendants du verbe auxquels il assigne le Cas accusatif (voir supra) utilise une terminologie homogène clairement temporelle: *ḡahaba* (il est parti) indique que l'événement a eu lieu dans le passé" et: *sa-yaḡhabu* (il partira) indique qu'il sera dans un temps futur" [c.49]. Cette dénomination est distincte de celle du premier chapitre dont la terminologie est plus complexe. Le critère temporel est articulé à un critère d'ordre différent. Il est relatif à l'avènement du procès. Le texte est clairement explicite à cet égard. On se reportera aux passages en 11.15 et à celui, plus clair, en 12.6: "[La forme verbale] montre quand l'action a eu lieu comme elle montre que le *maḡdar*, c'est-à-dire l'événement, a eu lieu [c.50].

Sībawayhi distingue donc, dans l'analyse des valeurs du verbe - qu'il analyse dans les déclaratives -, entre la temporalité et la notion d'"événement qui a eu lieu" (*wuḡū'u l-ḡadaḡ*). Cette dernière notion se laisse interpréter de deux manières différentes: Il s'agit, en somme, de l'avènement de l'événement, de son inscription dans le monde. La notion rappelle la fonction assertive de Benveniste, fonction verbale reliant l'énoncé linguistique à un cela est, autrement dit à l'ordre du monde. Elle n'y coïncide pas néanmoins, on le verra. D'autre part, la notion d'avènement de l'événement, outre qu'elle fait de la séquence une assertion, fait signe à l'aspect verbal. On se reportera à D. Cohen 1990 pour ce qu'il en est d'une notion de l'aspect entendue à partir de la notion de limite: Dès lors, dit-il, que la réalisation du prédicat est délimitée, qu'il y a quelque chose qui se produit et non pas seulement qui est, qu'il y a quelque chose qui fait événement, il y a aspect. Si l'on revient maintenant aux termes du premier chapitre, on constate qu'ils relèvent à la fois des deux critères. Sībawayhi distingue trois valeurs: la première est purement temporelle (*buniyat limā maḡā*, 1.3.), la seconde combine le critère temporel au non-avènement du procès (*limā yaḡūnu wa-lam yaḡā*) et la troisième valeur est relative à la manière dont se présente le procès, il s'agit donc d'une valeur aspectuelle: Le procès est et est et en train de se dérouler: *binā' mā lam yaḡaḡi' wa-huwa kā'inun*. On observera, en outre, que les exemples fournis par le texte pour illustrer *binā' mā lam yaḡā* (1.4), sont l'impératif (*iḡhab*) et la forme préfixale (*yaḡhabu*). Le texte les distingue explicitement par leur valeur énonciative, modale: la première est une assertion (*muḡbiran*), la seconde un ordre (*āmiran*). *mā lam yaḡā* a donc une valeur ambiguë: il peut renvoyer à différentes manières du locuteur de s'engager dans son énoncé quant à ce qui n'a pas eu lieu: ce que le locuteur projette dans le futur, une virtualité qui peut fort bien se présenter comme certitude; et ce dont le locuteur ne peut répondre, une virtualité dont la réalisation dépend de l'interlocuteur. Or c'est cette notion de *wuḡū'u l-ḡadaḡ* qui va être la pierre angulaire de l'analyse des modes verbaux.

A ce que nous en savons, il n'y a point d'étude qui ait signalé des valeurs aspectuelles dans l'analyse du verbe dans le Livre, ni d'ailleurs quelqu'autre valeur, l'analyse du verbe, nous l'avons dit, ayant souffert d'un préjugé négatif. Pourtant, la notion d'*inḡiḡā* est très clairement une notion relative au déroulement du procès, une notion aspectuelle. Par la valeur littérale d'interruption, de cessation qu'elle implique, elle fait signe à la notion de limite. il s'agit d'un procès en déroulement, non

délimité. C'est par cette valeur aspectuelle que le Livre caractérise l'une des valeurs de la forme préfixale quand elle a la flexion *-u*, en d'autres termes à l'indicatif: "... *'adhulu-hā* ici a la même valeur que *huwa yadhulu* (il entre) et *huwa yaḍribu* (il frappe) quand tu les dis afin d' informer qu'il est en train d'accomplir son action et que son action n'est pas achevée" [c.51]. La glose qui suit dont le terme fondamental est celui de "*ḥālu d-duḥūlī*" (être en état d'entrer) renforce l'idée de déroulement, d'une valeur qu'on dit progressive. Il s'agit de la glose de l'énoncé:

43 *sirtu ḥattā 'adhuluḥā*

j'ai voyagé jusqu'à j'entre-indicatif-elle

J'ai marché jusqu'à ce que j'y entrais

glosé par *sirtu fa-'iḏā 'anā f' ḥālī duḥūlīn* (j'ai voyagé et voici que j'étais en train d'y entrer) (367.14).

La suite du passage établit incontestablement qu'il s'agit d'une valeur aspectuelle, non temporelle. En effet, le texte distingue une autre valeur corrélatrice de l'indicatif. Elle est temporelle, glosée par un déictique temporel: maintenant: J'ai voyagé au point que maintenant (*al-'āna*) j'y entre à ma guise. 367.19 et 368.17 et voir 7.4. L'une des lectures est dite "conjonctive" (*ittiṣālu d-duḥūlī bi-s-sayri*), l'autre est dite "disjonctive" (*infiṣāl*). Une dernière observation est éclairante sur la notion d'*inqiṭā'*: Celle-ci peut caractériser également la forme *fā'il*. La valeur sémantique commune à la forme verbale préfixale et à la forme nominale *fā'il* à laquelle nous faisons allusion plus haut est, en fait, décrite avec des termes relatifs à l'aspect du procès. En 73.6, le texte avance que si, par la forme *fā'il* on veut informer que l'action⁸⁴ a eu lieu et qu'elle s'est achevée [c.52] (*inqaṭa'a*), la forme *fā'il* ne peut plus gouverner son argument à l'accusatif. Elle fonctionne à ce moment-là comme un nom [c.53]:

44 a *hāḏā ḏāribu 'abdillāhi wa-'aḥṭhi*

Voici le frappeur-nom Abdallah-gén et frère-gén-lui

Voici celui qui a frappé Abdallah et son frère

b * *hāḏā ḏāribun 'abdallāhi wa-'aḥṭhu*

Voici frappant-nom-n Abdallah-acc et frère-acc-lui⁸⁵

Ce qui revient à dire que la forme *fā'il* gouverne son argument à l'accusatif quand elle a, du moins dans le contexte de l'exemple présenté, la valeur d'un procès en déroulement, ainsi qu'il en est pour la forme préfixale à l'indicatif, dans l'un de ses emplois. C'est explicitement la valeur aspectuelle qui est dite commune au participe actif et à la forme à préfixes. Le passage essentiel à cet égard est en 70.11⁸⁶: *ism al-fā'il*, quand il porte le *tanwīn*, a les mêmes propriétés de gouvernement et le sens de la forme préfixale, à savoir qu'il peut désigner le futur ou bien un procès en cours de déroulement, décrit, à nouveau, comme une action qui a lieu au moment où parle le locuteur et qui n'est pas encore achevée [c.54]. Les exemples pertinents sont les suivants:

⁸⁴ *f'ī* est à entendre comme action, procès dans ce passage.

⁸⁵ On se reportera à Ayoub 1991b et Ayoub à paraître pour une discussion de ces emplois.

⁸⁶ On se reportera également à la suite du passage précédent: "Il [le nom d'agent] a été rendu similaire dans son fonctionnement à la forme ressemblante ... aussi comme il [le locuteur] entendait exprimer un sens différent de celui-là, son fonctionnement a été celui des noms" [c.53].

- 45 a *hāḍā ḍāribun Zaydan ḡadan*
Celui-ci frappant-nom-n Zayd-acc demain
Celui-ci frappera Zayd demain
- b *hāḍā ḍāribun 'abdallāhi s-sā'ata*
Celui-ci frappant-nom-n Abdallah en ce moment
Celui-ci est en train de frapper Abdallah

Si notre analyse est exacte, Sībawayhi décrit donc la seconde valeur en termes aspectuels. Celle-ci sera décrite en termes temporels ultérieurement où la version officielle sera: si la forme participiale a valeur de passé, elle ne peut gouverner un argument à l'accusatif.⁸⁷ Ces précisions faites, on peut aborder, brièvement, l'analyse des modes et y montrer le rôle des gouverneurs-opérateurs.

7.3 Le mode indicatif

C'est celui qui se définit précisément par l'absence de gouverneurs du verbe: Si le verbe prend la désinence *-u*, ce n'est point par l'effet d'un gouverneur mais pour des raisons différentes. Dans l'exposé de ces raisons, toute l'analyse est conduite en fonction du nom. Et les généralisations importantes sont formulées en prenant la position structurale du nom pour critère. Toutefois, considérée d'un point de vue global, l'analyse de l'indicatif a deux volets:

1- Une analyse sémantique et logique ayant rapport à la valeur de la proposition et à la valeur aspectuelle du verbe. C'est celle conduite en termes de *kalām wāḡib*, de *wuqū'*, *tubūt al-fī'l*, et, pour ce qui est de l'aspect, de *hāl al-wuqū'*, *ḡayr al-inqītā'*. Elle n'est jamais, comme il est de coutume dans le Livre, présentée dans un chapitre autonome qui définirait et analyserait la valeur de l'indicatif. Elle se présente au fil des analyses, celles qui requièrent du discernement, l'énoncé pouvant avoir plusieurs valeurs. Pour bien entendre le propos, il est nécessaire d'en dire plus sur les valeurs de la proposition et d'interroger les notions de *wāḡib*, de *wuqū'* et de *tubūt*. On y procèdera dans la section suivante, ces notions étant les notions-clés de l'analyse de toutes les valeurs modales.

2 - Une généralisation structurale qui prend pour repère le gouvernement des noms: Dans un chapitre nommément dévolu à cet effet, intitulé "Voici le chapitre [qui explique] la manière dont ces verbes ressemblants aux noms acquièrent la flexion *-u*" [c.55], Sībawayhi avance que les verbes à la conjugaison préfixale ont la flexion de l'indicatif quand ils sont dans la position d'un nom. L'analyse présente les cas suivants:

Le verbe est dans la position du *mubtada'* (*fī mawḍi'i mubtada'in*)

- 46 *yaqūlu zaydun ḡā* (364.11)
dit Zayd-nom cela
Zayd dit ceci

Il est dans la position du "[terme] construit sur le *mubtada'*" (*fī mawḍi'i l-mabniyyi 'alā l-mubtada'*), c'est-à-dire du prédicat correspondant.

- 47 *zaydun yaqūlu ḡā*
Zayd-nom dit cela

Il est dans une position qui n'est celle d'aucun des deux termes de la prédication (*fī*

⁸⁷ Voir par exemple 'Astarābādī, *Šarḥ* I, 273.

mawḏī'ī ḡayrī l-mubtada'ī wa-lā l-mabniyyī 'alayhi). On l'illustrera par un seul exemple:

48 *marartu bi-raḡulin yaqīlu dāka*

je suis passé près-homme-gén dit cela

Je suis passé près d'un homme qui dit cela

C'est le fait même que les verbes dont la conjugaison est préfixale soient dans les positions des noms qui détermine la flexion de l'indicatif, exactement de la même manière, dit le texte, que le fait d'être embrayé (*mubtada'*) confère au nom le Cas nominatif [c.56]. On comprend la logique de la comparaison: Dans les deux cas, le gouverneur est un "imperceptible", selon l'expression de Milner. Il ne s'agit pas d'une catégorie ou d'un terme ayant une réalisation phonétique, mais de positions et d'une valeur énonciative. Mais cette affirmation ne manque pas de poser des questions. La première est celle de la rationalité sous-jacente à cette règle d'ordre structural. Le texte tente d'y répondre: Elle réside dans l'hétérogénéité irréductible des gouverneurs. On l'a vu déjà, à plusieurs moments de ce travail, cette proposition institue une limite à la thèse d'homogénéité et justifie le fonctionnement de plusieurs tours de langue. On voit ici qu'elle justifie également la flexion du mode indicatif. Le raisonnement est le suivant: Dans la mesure où ce qui gouverne les noms ne gouverne point les verbes, ceux-ci acquièrent, par défaut pourrait-on dire, la flexion de l'indicatif [c.57]. Ils ne sont en somme dans la portée d'aucun gouverneur. Ce sont donc des considérations de position et de gouvernement qui expliquent l'indicatif. Mais d'autres questions peuvent être posées. Ainsi les exemples qui sont présentés sous 46 - 48 sont autant compatibles avec la forme *yaf'alu* qu'avec la forme *fa'ala*. Pourquoi pas alors le *raf'* avec *fa'ala*? C'est qu'il y a implicitement dans le texte, une conjonction de deux critères:

1 - Le sens des verbes en *yaf'alu* est celui de *fā'il*; ils connaissent donc une variation flexionnelle.

2 - Le fait que le verbe à conjugaison préfixale soit dans la position des noms implique que sa flexion soit alors celle de l'indicatif (*raf'*).

Quoiqu'il en soit, on comparera ces assertions avec celle avancée en 2.14: "Ce qui te montre qu'ils [les verbes ressemblants aux noms] ne sont pas des noms est que si tu les mets dans les positions des noms, cela ne serait pas licite. Ne vois-tu pas que si tu disais: *'inna yaḡriba ya'tīnā* (litt: certes frappe-subj nous rend visite) ou des choses du même ordre, cela ne se dirait pas" [c.58]. Faut-il en déduire que les assertions du Livre sont contradictoires? On fera plutôt une hypothèse qui se fonde sur l'analyse de *'inna* dans le Livre. Ce gouverneur, on l'a vu plus haut, est propre au nom. Il doit donc être obligatoirement suivi par un nom et aucun verbe, disait le passage plus haut cité, ne peut intervenir entre *'inna* et ce nom. En somme, pour rendre l'assertion en 2.14 non-contradictoire avec les assertions précédentes, il suffit de lire "si tu les mets dans les positions exclusivement réservées aux noms".

7.4 Les valeurs des propositions: *wāḡib*, *wuqū'*

On tentera de soutenir ici les deux propositions qui suivent:

1 - Les flexions de la forme préfixale (*raf' naṣb* et *ḡazm*) sont fondées sur un calcul de la valeur de la proposition, dans un sens assez proche du calcul des propositions: On néglige totalement le contenu des propositions pour ne s'occuper que de leur caractère assertif ou non-assertif. Mais, on le verra, l'analyse inclura également des

notions telles que le probable, l'incertain, etc. Comme pour le gouvernement des noms, le sens n'a rien à voir avec l'intention du locuteur.

2 - Le gouverneur joue dès lors le rôle d'un opérateur sémantique qui a une portée et qui requiert un verbe ou une proposition ayant les valeurs négatives (non nécessaire, n'ayant pas eu lieu).

Les deux concepts-clés de l'analyse, nous l'avons annoncé, sont *lam yaqa'* (litt: ce qui n'a pas eu lieu) et *gayr wāḡib* (litt: non nécessaire). Pour situer d'emblée l'analyse, on rappellera ce qui suit: L'indicatif est essentiellement corrélé à la valeur positive (ce qui est nécessaire - *wāḡib* - et ce qui a eu lieu - *waqa'a*). On comprend dès lors qu'il soit généralement lié à l'absence de gouverneurs. Les flexions modales du subjonctif (et de la négation du futur) et du jussif sont corrélées à la valeur négative: le non-nécessaire et "ce qui n'a pas eu lieu" au sens du non-réalisé, possible ou probable. A cet égard, l'indicatif de la forme suffixale *fa'ala* mérite une mention spécifique. L'usage de *waqa'a* dans ce cas renvoie à la fois à la valeur aspectuelle verbale et à la valeur de la proposition: La forme suffixale renvoie, dans la majorité des cas, à ce qui a eu lieu, en somme à de l'accompli. Enfin l'indicatif de la conjugaison préfixale, on l'a vu, peut renvoyer à ce qui n'a pas eu lieu, au sens du non-accompli. Pour éclairer le statut théorique de la notion, on tentera une comparaison avec la notion de *waqa'a*. Quoiqu'utilisées généralement dans le même contexte, les deux notions ne portent pas sur le même objet. Ce qui peut avoir lieu (ou ne pas avoir lieu) est le *fi'l*, au sens de l'action. De là l'ambiguïté de la notion: Elle renvoie à une valeur aspectuelle verbale: s'accomplir. Dès lors, *qahaba* est ce qui est accompli (*qad waqa'a*) et *yadhahu* ce qui est non-accompli (*lam yaqa'*). Mais elle renvoie aussi à des valeurs modales: l'impératif, le subjonctif. Ce qui n'a pas eu lieu a des chances d'arriver, possibles ou probables. Avec ces nuances sémantiques, la notion est effectivement apte à décrire la flexion -a qui ne renvoie pas seulement au subjonctif français mais aussi à la négation du futur. Enfin si l'on songe que *waqa'a* fait signe aussi, dans la langue, à la réalité, au devenir-réel d'une action ou d'un événement, la notion pourra donc opposer le réel et l'éventuel, décrire la valeur des hypothétiques, etc.

En revanche, la notion de *wāḡib* a une autre portée: C'est la proposition (*kalām*) qui est ainsi qualifiée, non l'action. Au reste, la notion a connu, dans la pensée médiévale, un usage en logique et en théologie. Elle connaît donc un emploi déontique, auquel cas *wāḡib* signifierait obligatoire et un emploi aléthique, auquel cas elle signifierait nécessaire. Selon le cas, *wāḡib* s'oppose à *ḡā'iz* ou à *mumkin* (possible). Dans le discours théologique, *wāḡib* est une épithète de Dieu lequel existe par lui-même (*wāḡib al-wuḡūd*), par opposition à ce qui n'a d'existence que par la volonté de Dieu (*mumkinu l-wuḡūd*). Enfin, *wāḡib* appartient au langage de la jurisprudence et renvoie à un *hukm* des 5 '*ahkām šar'iyya*. Carter, à juste titre, avait attiré l'attention sur les affinités du métalangage de Šibawayhi avec celui de la jurisprudence. Il est certes hors de notre propos d'examiner ici les relations entre ces emplois et l'emploi de la notion dans le Livre, ni même de soulever les multiples questions qui ne manquent point de se poser. On retiendra néanmoins, que la notion relève de la proposition, qu'elle introduit dans le champ du nécessaire et du possible. Encore faut-il voir comment cela s'articule exactement dans le Livre.

Les deux notions semblent donc relever de deux logiques différentes. L'une relève, dans le Livre, du locuteur: Il s'agit d'une proposition p avancée par le locuteur

(*kalām wāḡib*). L'autre a rapport à la réalité. La première donc engage le locuteur dans sa manière de se poser par rapport à son énoncé. La seconde semble décrire le monde. En fait, les analyses montrent un usage bien plus complexe. Soit l'exemple suivant:

49 *'iḍan 'azunnuhu fā'ilan*

Alors je le crois faisant

Alors je crois qu'il le fera.

Le texte justifie l'indicatif en ces termes: "parce que tu informes qu'à ce moment-là [le moment où tu parles], tu crois [que cela est] vrai;⁸⁸ Aussi [*'iḍan*] n'a plus la valeur d'un élément de la classe de *'in* et *kay* car le verbe qui les suit [renvoie à une action] qui n'a pas eu lieu et ne renvoie pas une action bien établie au moment où tu parles" [c.59]. Ce passage ajoute une nouvelle dimension à la notion de *wuqū'*; Celle-ci renvoie, dans le passage cité, non point à la réalité, mais à ce que le locuteur croit tel, au moment où il parle. La frontière avec la notion de *wāḡib* semble donc parfois incertaine.

On comprend, néanmoins, à partir des déterminations générales des deux notions, qu'elles n'aient pas la même extension empirique, bien qu'elles soient souvent associées dans les descriptions. Du point de vue empirique, ce qui est, sans nul doute, une proposition "nécessaire" (*kalām wāḡib*) est la proposition affirmative à l'indicatif: cela recouvre donc toute proposition dont le verbe est une forme suffixale ou une forme préfixale pourvue de la flexion de l'indicatif. L'extension n'est pas la même pour "ce qui a eu lieu". On l'a vu, l'indicatif futur, est décrit comme "ce qui n'a pas eu lieu". Pour les valeurs négatives, est non-nécessaire, comme on l'a vu plus haut, l'ordre, le souhait, l'interrogation, l'exhortation, la prohibition, bref tout ce qui relève du non-assertif. La proposition négative occupe une place médiane: Elle est la négation d'une proposition "nécessaire"; Elle est donc susceptible de fonctionner comme une proposition nécessaire ou, au contraire, l'opérateur négatif peut nier son caractère nécessaire; dès lors, elle fonctionnera comme une proposition "non-nécessaire". On le remarquera, en français également, la négation, tantôt induit l'indicatif, tantôt le subjonctif. Enfin, la valeur négative d'"avoir lieu" ne coïncide pas avec le non-nécessaire. Il suffit de penser à l'indicatif futur, mais aussi aux subordonnées avec *'an*, etc.

7.5 Les modes

On conclura enfin par ces citations qui montrent combien les deux notions sont cardinales et constantes, dans l'analyse des modes. Si l'on se rappelle que la notion de *wāḡib* recouvre les propositions non assertives (et la proposition négative dans certains cas), on peut dire que l'explication du *ḡāzm* et du *naṣb* repose sur le calcul des propositions. La question adressée à chaque fois est la suivante: s'agit-il d'une proposition assertive ou non-assertive? Plus précisément, on peut dire qu'elle repose également sur le calcul de la référence des propositions, celle-ci étant pour Frege leur valeur de vérité, laquelle dépend de leur caractère assertif.

⁸⁸ C'est le terme de *ḥffa* qui fait signe à la notion de vérité: C'est se figurer, croire vrai ce qui ne l'est pas nécessairement.

7.5.1 L'indicatif (*ar-raf'*)

Certaines particules, telles *'idan*, *hattā*, *fa-*, sont intéressantes en ceci qu'elles peuvent être suivies tant par le mode indicatif que par le subjonctif. Avec ces particules, par exemple *hattā*, c'est la valeur logique de la première proposition, sans égard à son contenu propositionnel, qui compte pour déterminer le mode du second verbe. Se présentent selon le Livre deux formes modales du verbe qui correspondent à plusieurs valeurs sémantiques. On lira le passage qui suit, où l'analyse se fonde sur la notion de *wāḡib*: "Tu ne mets le verbe à l'indicatif après *hattā* que dans le cas d'[une proposition] "nécessaire" (*fī l-wāḡib*) et le verbe qui suit *hattā* est alors articulé à l'énonciation, disjoint du premier, eût-il lieu comme le premier dans le passé ou au moment présent" [c.60]. L'énoncé a, avec cette forme modale, deux sens différents:

50 *sirtu hattā 'adhuluhā*

(367.11)

J'ai voyagé jusqu'à ce que j'y entrais (en ville)
la première aspectuelle: "Le fait d'y entrer ne présente aucune interruption avec le voyage ... '*adhuluhā* ici a la même valeur que *huwa yadhulu* (il entre) et *huwa yadribu* (il frappe) quand tu les dis afin d' informer qu'il est en train d'accomplir son action et que son action n'est pas achevée" [c.62]. L'autre, toujours à l'indicatif, est ainsi glosée: "si bien que maintenant j'y entre à ma guise" (*hattā 'innī l-'āna 'adhuluhā kamā šī'tu*). D'autres particules, telles *qallamā* ou *innamā*, en rendant la première proposition nécessaire, déterminent l'indicatif après *hattā*. On se reportera aux passages cités.

7.5.2 Le subjonctif et la négation du futur (*an-naṣb*)

La valeur fondamentale de *'an* et *kay* a rapport à un monde possible, non au monde réel: "car le verbe qui suit [*'an* et *kay*] renvoie à une action] qui n'a pas eu lieu et ne renvoie pas une action bien établie au moment où tu parles" [c.59]; "[*'an* et la proposition qui la suit] ... ne sont mentionnés que pour ce qui n'a pas encore eu lieu" [c.63]. Le *naṣb* a valeur finale (*ḡāya*) après *hattā*. Le texte réfute qu'il puisse, dans ce cas, être déterminé par quelque modalité dubitative. L'analyse est tout à fait explicite:

51 *sāra zaydun hattā yadhuluhā*

Zayd a voyagé jusqu'à ce qu'il y fut entré

"Qui prétend que le subjonctif dans *sāra zaydun hattā yadhuluhā fīmā balaḡant wa-lā 'adrī* (Zayd, à ce qu'on m'a dit sans que je n'en sache rien, avait voyagé jusqu'à ce qu'il y fut entré)" [c.61]. En fait, le subjonctif est déterminé par la valeur finale du marqueur *hattā*. Quant à l'indicatif, on l'a vu plus haut, il résulte de l'examen de la valeur logique et sémantique de la première proposition: Si elle est "nécessaire", c'est l'indicatif. On le notera, ces exemples illustrent assez bien combien il faut être circonspect en utilisant la notion de sens, dans le Livre. Il ne s'agit nullement d'associer, de manière simple, une forme modale verbale au sens d'une proposition, c'est-à-dire à son contenu propositionnel.

7.5.3 Le jussif dans les hypothétiques (*al-ḡazā'*) et *nūnu l-qasam* (l'énergique)

L'explication du contexte du jussif (*ḡazm*) résulte également d'un calcul de la valeur logique et sémantique de la première proposition: Elle doit être non-néces-

saire, le procès y étant envisagé dans un monde possible: "Il n'y a point de jussif (*ğazā'*) sans que la première proposition ne soit non-nécessaire" [c.64].⁸⁹ La généralisation est attribuée à al-Ḥalīl. Soit aussi l'exemple suivant qui met en jeu la même généralisation:

52 *'ataytanā 'amsi nu'tika l-yawma* (399.20)

litt: tu nous a rendu visite hier nous te donnerions aujourd'hui

L'exemple est ainsi glosé: Si tu nous as rendu visite hier, nous te donnerons aujourd'hui (*'in kunta 'ataytanā 'amsi a'taynāka l-yawma*). Le texte ajoute: Mais si tu voulais l'amener à reconnaître qu'il t'a rendu visite, alors le jussif ne peut être.⁹⁰ Dans tous ces exemples, *'an* et *'in* jouent le rôle d'opérateurs sémantiques. Les contraintes formelles sont à interpréter comme des contraintes sur la portée des opérateurs. Enfin, *ğayr l-wāğib* est en variation libre avec *lam yaqa'* pour ce qui est du *qasam* "Le *nūn* ne se suffixe pas sur un verbe [exprimant une action] qui a eu lieu; Il ne se suffixe que sur [ce qui a valeur] non nécessaire" [c.65]. On l'aura remarqué, les catégories de *Šibawayhi* sont identiques pour le verbe au *nash* et pour le *ğazm* (*lam yaqa'* et *ğayr wāğib*). Il est de fait que le subjonctif et le conditionnel, dans les études linguistiques contemporaines, se laissent analyser avec les mêmes notions. Il faudra voir comment les unes se situent par rapport aux autres.

En somme, ce qui est un opérateur syntaxique est aussi un opérateur sémantique. Il induit des valeurs énonciatives et référentielles. On touche là, à travers la question du gouvernement, à un point de spécificité de cette théorie grammaticale. Elle fait la part des propriétés géométriques du langage et les articule, d'une manière qui lui est propre, à la référence et à l'énonciation. De là vient l'importance cardinale de la théorie du *'amal* où les trois types d'opérateurs se conjuguent. Elle articule des domaines qui sont sentis exclusifs l'un de l'autre dans le champ de la linguistique contemporaine: l'énonciation, la pragmatique et la syntaxe, ce qui se disait aussi grammaire de phrase et grammaire de discours. Ils le sont par le biais d'un attachement à la littéralité de la marque, à la matérialité de la langue comme forme phonétique, agencements, relations.

C'est dans l'attention constante à cette articulation du géométrique à ce qui lui est autre, à la manière dont se noue la question de la forme et du sens qu'on risque d'entendre quelque chose à cette théorie, qu'elle risque de nous faire entendre quelque enseignement sur la force de ces généralisations, sur sa propre spécificité et celle de la tradition arabe, mais sans doute également sur le langage. On aura tenté ici de s'y attacher. On est, certes, loin d'avoir épuisé la question.

⁸⁹ Voir également "*al-ğazā' innamā yakūnu fī ḡayri l-wāğib*" (399.21).

⁹⁰ "*fa-'in kunta turīdu 'an tuqarrirahu bi-'annahū qad fa'ala fa-'inna l-ğazā'a lā yakūnu*".

ANNEXES

1 CITATIONS DU KITĀB

- 1 *haddā bābu 'ilmi mā l-kalimu mina l-'arabiyyati* 1.1.
- 2 *istaqbaḥū 'an yaḡriya maḡrā l-fī li l-mubtada'i wa-li-yakūna bayna l-fī li wa-l-ismi faṣṣun* 239.18.
- 3 *li-'anna l-isma laysa ka-l-fī li wa-kaḡḡlika mā ya'malu fīhi laysa kamā ya'malu fī l-fī li* 406.11.
- 4 *al-haddu 'an yakūna l-fī lu mubtada'an 'iddā u'mila* 49.19. (variante dans Hārūn: 'amila).
- 5 *kullāmā 'aradta l-'iḡḡ'a fa-t-ta'ḥḥu 'aqwā* 49.10.
- 6 *'iddā kāna 'āmilan fī šay'in qaddamta-hu kamā tuqaddimu 'azunnu wa-'aḡṣabu wa-'iddā 'alḡayta 'aḡḡar-tu kamā tu'aḡḡiruhumā li-'annahumā laysd ya'maldni šay'an* 21.11.
- 7 *qabḡḡun 'an tu'aḡḡira ḡarfa l-ḡazā'i 'iddā ḡazama mā ba'dahu* 389.12.
- 8 *kāna haddu l-lafzi ... 'an yakūna l-fā'ilu muqaddaman wa-huwa 'arabiyyun ḡayiddun kaḡḡun ka-'annahum 'innamā yuqaddimūna llaḡḡ bayānahu 'ahammu lahum wa-hum bi-bayānihi 'aḡnā* 11.4.
- 9 *al-iḡimāmū wa-l-'indaytu fī t-taḡḡmi wa-t-ta'ḡḡi sawḡ'un* 31.16.
- 10 *wa-'innamā kāna llaḡḡ yaḡḡi 'awlā li-qurbi ḡiwdri-hi wa-'annahu lā yanquḡu ma'nān wa-'anna l-muḡḡḡaba qad 'arafa 'anna l-'awwala qad waḡa'a bi-zaydin* 28.17.
- 11 *li-'annahu yaḡḡilu bi-waṣfin baynahu wa-bayna l-'āmilī* 198.10.
- 12 *kamā qabūha 'an raḡḡila bayna l-muḡḡḡi wa-l-ismi l-muḡḡḡi 'ilayhi* 303.3.
- 13 *lā raḡḡilu bayna l-ḡāri wa-l-maḡḡri li-'annahu dāḡḡilun fī l-ismi* 74.17.
- 14 *kaḡḡhiyata 'an yuṣabbihūhu bimā ya'malu fī l-ismi, li-'anna l-isma laysa ka-l-fī li wa-kaḡḡlika mā ya'malu fīhi laysa kamā ya'malu fī l-fī li* 406.11.
- 15 *'innamā hiya 'iḡḡḡun li-qawlihi lan yaḡala fa-'aṣbahathā fī 'an lā yuḡala bayna-hā wa-bayna l-fī li* 407.21.
- 16 *al-'āmilu fī l-lafzi 'aḡadu l-fī layni* 28.19.
- 17 *lā yu'malu fī smin wāḡḡidin naṣḡun wa-raḡ'un* 29.1.
- 18 *lā sabīta 'illā 'an yakūna ba'du l-ismi ḡarran wa-ba'duhu raḡ'an* 210.21.
- 19 *'aḡḡabta l-ḡazā'a li-'annaka 'a'malta kāna wa-'inna, fa-lam yaṣuḡ 'an tadā'a kāna mu'allaqatan lā tu'miluhā fī šay'in* 390.4.
- 20 *humā mā lā yaṣtaḡn wāḡḡidun minhumā 'ani l-'ḡari wa-lā yaḡidu l-mutakallimu minhu buḡḡan* 6.10.
- 21 *lam turid 'an taṣḡala l-fī la bi-'awwala minhu* 11.3.
- 22 *yartaḡḡu l-maḡḡilu kamā yartaḡḡu l-fā'ilu li-'annaka lam taṣḡali l-fī la bi-ḡayrihi ... kamā fa'alta ḡḡlika bi-l-fā'ilī* 10.14.
- 23 *ḡamī'u l-maṣḡḡḡi tartaḡḡu 'alā 'afḡliḡā 'iddā lam taṣḡali l-fī la bi-ḡayriḡā* 97.5.
- 24 *wa-'ammā ḡamīdu fa-haḡayndhum wa-'innamā ḡasuna 'an yubnd l-fī lu 'alā l-ismi ḡaytu kāna mu'malan bi-l-muḡḡari wa-ṣḡalīahu bihi wa-lawlā ḡḡlika lam yaḡsun li-'annaka lam taṣḡalhu bi-šay'in* 31.20.
- 25 *fa-'in ṣḡalīa ḡḡiḡi l-hurīfa bi-šay'in ḡāzayta* 390.8.
- 26 *al-maḡḡilu ḡāla baynahu wa-bayna l-fī li 'an yakūna fīhi bi-manṣilatihi* 16.3.
- 27 *kamā maṣ'ati n-nūnu fī 'isṡna 'an yakūna mā ba'dahā ḡarran* 16.7.
- 28 *za'ama l-ḡāḡlu 'anna-ka 'iddā ḡulīa 'in ta'ū-nf' ḡūka fa-ḡūka nḡazamat bi-'in ta'tin* 386.13.
- 29 *ḡahaba qad dalla 'alā ṣunfin wa-huwa ḡ-ḡahḡu* 11.8.
- 30 *bunīya limā maḡḡ wa-mā lam yaḡḡ minhu (i.e. mina z-zamān)* 11.12.
- 31 *'iddā ḡāla ḡahaba, fa-qad 'ulima 'anna li-l-ḡaḡḡi maḡḡan 'an lam yaḡḡurhu* 11.18.
- 32 *haddā bābu l-fā'ilī llaḡḡ yaḡa'addāhu fī luḡu 'illā maḡḡālin* 10.21. ou ... *illā maḡḡālin* 13.12.
- 33 *man za'ama 'anna l-'afḡla tartaḡḡu bi-l-ibtidā'i fa-'innahu yanbaḡḡ lahu 'an yaṣībahā 'iddā kānat fī mawḡ'in yaṣībahu fīhi l-ismu wa-yaḡḡrahā 'iddā kānat fī mawḡ'in yaḡḡuru fīhi l-ismu* 364.11.
- 34a *fa-hḡḡiḡi l-lāmu tamna'u l-'amala kamā tamna'u 'alifu l-istiḡḡmī li-'annahā 'innamā hiya lāmu l-'ibiddā'i* 100.3.
- 34b *fa-l-mubtada'u kullu smin btudi'a li-yubnd 'alay-hi kalāmūn* 239.3.
- 35 *tabḡḡadi'u li-tunabbīha l-muḡḡḡaba* 52.16.
- 36 *'ammā ḡawluhu 'ammā l-baṣṡatu fa-lā baṣṡata laka wa-'ammā l-ḡarīḡu fa-lā ḡarīḡa laka, fa-hḡḡā lā yakūnu fīhi 'abadan 'illā r-raḡu li-'annahu smun ma'nīṣun wa-mā'lūmun qad 'arafa l-muḡḡḡaba*

- minhu miŋla mǝ qad 'arafa." 164.9.
- 37 al-ma'nd f'ŋinna 'annaka biada'ta ŋay'an qad ŋabata 'indaka wa-lasta ft hǝli hǝdŋika ta'malu ft 'iŋdahi wa-ta'fayyihā 138.14.
- 38 wa-'innamǝ fa'alil hǝdǝ bi-l-istifhmi li-'annahu ka-l-'amri ft 'annahu ŋayru wǝgibin wa-'annahu yuridu bihi mina l-muħdǝbi 'amran lam yastaqira 'inda s-sǝ'ili ... fa-qabuha taqdŋmu l-ismi li-hǝdǝ 40.15.
- 39 hǝdǝ bǝbu huriŋin 'uŋriyat muŋrǝ huriŋi l-istifhmi wa-huriŋi l-'amri wa-n-nahyi wa-hiya huriŋu n-nafyi ŋabbahu hǝ bi-'alifi l-istifhmi hayu quddima l-ismu qabala l-ŋ'li li-'annahunna ŋayru wǝgibatin kamǝ 'anna l-'alifa wa-huriŋa l-ŋazǝ' ŋayru wǝgibatin wa-kamǝ 'anna l-'amra wa-n-nahya ŋayru wǝgibayni wa-sahula taqdŋmu l-'asmǝ' f'ŋhǝ li-'annahǝ nafyu wǝgibin wa-laysat ka-huriŋi l-istifhmi wa-l-ŋazǝ' 'innamǝ hiya muħdǝ'atun wa-'innamǝ taŋŋu li-hǝlǝfi qawlihi: qad kǝna 61.11.
- 40 'in ŋi'a rafa'ta ... li-'annahunna nafyu wǝgibin yubtada'u ba'dahunna wa-yubnǝ 'ald l-mubtada'i ba'dahunna wa-lam yabluŋna 'an yakunna miŋla mǝ ŋubbihna bihi 62.1.
- 41 hǝdǝ bǝbu l-huriŋi llatf yaŋŋu 'an yaliyahǝ ba'dahǝ l-'asmǝ'u wa-yaŋŋu 'an yaliyahǝ ba'dahǝ l-'afǝlu ... li-'annahǝ huriŋin lǝ ta'malu ŋay'an 408.10.
- 42 hǝdǝ bǝbu l-huriŋi llatf lǝ taqaddamu f'ŋhǝ l-'asmǝ'u l-ŋ'la 406.1
hǝdǝ bǝbu l-huriŋi llatf lǝ yalŋhǝ ba'dahǝ 'ilǝ l-ŋ'lu 407.16.
- 43 'innamǝ mamǝ'a hayu 'an yuŋǝzǝ bihǝ 'annaka taŋŋu hayu takǝnu 'akǝnu ... wa-yubayyinu hǝdǝ 'annahǝ ft l-habari bi-manzilati 'innamǝ wa-ka'annamǝ wa-'iǝdǝ 'annahu yubtada'u ba'da-hǝ l-'asmǝ'u 'annaka taŋŋu: 'akǝnu hayu 'abdullǝhi qǝ'imun" ... fa-hayy ka-hǝdǝhi l-huriŋi llatf ubtada'u ba'dahǝ l-'asmǝ'u ft l-habari wa-lǝ yakǝnu hǝdǝ min huriŋi l-ŋazǝ' i 384.20.
- 44 mimǝ yaqbuhu ba'dahu biǝdǝ'u l-'asmǝ' ... li-'annahumǝ yakǝlǝni ft ma'nd huriŋi l-muŋǝzǝti wa-yaqbuhu biǝdǝ'u l-ismi ba'dahumǝ 44.6.
- 45 wa-'ammǝ 'iǝ fa-yahsinu biǝdǝ'u l-ismi ba'da-hǝ ... 'iǝ 'innamǝ yaqa'u ft l-kalǝmi l-wǝgibi fa-ŋama'a f'ŋhǝ hǝdǝ wa-'annaka tabtadi'u l-isma ba'dahǝ fa-ŋasuna r-raŋu 45.4.
- 46 f'ŋhi ma'nd l-tahǝdǝi wa-l-'amri 40.5.
- 47 li-l-'afǝli l-muħdǝ'ati li-'asmǝ' l-ŋ'la llatf ft 'awǝ'ilihǝ z-zawǝ'idu l-'arba'u 2.4.
- 48 [al-'afǝlu l-muħdǝ'ati] dǝra'ati l-ŋ'la li-ŋi'mǝ 'ŋimǝ ft l-ma'nd 2.16.
- 49 dǝhaba ... dalŋlun 'ald 'anna l-hadaŋa f'ŋhǝ maǝd min z-zamǝni 11.13. [sa-yadhabu] ... dalŋlun 'ald 'annahu yakǝnu f'ŋhǝ yastaqbilu mina z-zamǝni ibid.
- 50 f'ŋhi bayǝnu l-ŋ'li mǝd waqa'a kamǝ 'anna f'ŋhi bayǝnan 'annahu qad waqa'a l-maŋdaru wahuwa l-hadaŋu 12.6
- 51 huwa yaŋŋulu wa-huwa yaŋribu 'iǝd kunta tuħbiru 'annahu ft 'amali-hi wa-'anna 'amalahu lam yaŋŋi 367.13.
- 52 fa-'iǝdǝ 'ahbǝra 'anna l-ŋ'la qad waqa'a wa-nqata'a 73.6.
- 53 'innamǝ 'uŋriya muŋrǝ l-ŋ'li l-muħdǝ'ati lahu ... fa-lammǝ 'arǝda siwǝ dǝlika l-ma'nd ŋarǝ maŋrǝ l-'asmǝ' i 73.6.
- 54 wa-'iǝdǝ haddata 'an ŋ'lin ft f'ŋhi wuŋŋ'ihǝ ŋayri munŋat'i in 70.13.
- 55 hǝdǝ bǝbu waŋŋi duħŋli r-rafi ft hǝdǝhi l-'afǝli l-muħdǝ'ati li-l-'asmǝ' i: f'lam 'annahǝ 'iǝd kǝnat ft mawǝd'i smin mubtada'in 'aw(i) smin mabniyyin 'alayhi mubtada'un 'aw ft mawǝd'i smin marŋi'in [ŋayri mubtada'in wa-lǝ mabniyyin 'ald mubtada'in] 'aw ft mawǝd'i smin maŋŋirǝn 'aw maŋŋibin, fa-'annahǝ murtafǝ'atun 363.15.
- 56 wa-kaynǝnatuhǝ ft mawǝd'i l-'asmǝ' tarfa'uhǝ, kamǝ tarfa'u l-isma kaynǝnatuhu mubtada'an 364.1.
- 57 'illatuhu 'anna mǝ 'amila ft l-'asmǝ' lam yaŋ al ft hǝdǝhi l-'afǝli 'ald hǝdǝ 'amalihi ft l-'asmǝ' i 363.18.
- 58 wa-yubayyinu laka 'annahǝ laysat bi-'asmǝ'in 'annaka law wadǝ'iahǝ mawǝd'i l-'asmǝ' i lam yaŋŋuz dǝlika. 'a-lǝ tarǝ 'anna-ka law qulta: 'inna yaŋriba ya'tŋhǝ wa-'asbǝha hǝdǝ lam yakun kalǝman 2.14.
- 59 dǝlika li-'annaka tilka s-sǝ'ata ft hǝli zannin wa-hǝlǝtin fa-ŋarafat min bǝbi 'an wa kay li-'anna l-ŋ'la ba'dahǝ ŋayru wǝŋi'in wa-laysa ft hǝli hǝdŋika ŋ'lin ŋǝbitun 366.21.
- 60 'innamǝ tarfa'u bi-hatǝ ft l-wǝgibi wa-yakǝnu mǝ ba'dahǝ mubtada'an munfasilan mina l-'awwali kǝna ma'a l-'awwali f'ŋhǝ maǝd 'aw(i) l-'ǝna 371.10.
- 61 man za'ama 'anna n-naŋba yakǝnu ft dǝ li-'anna l-mutakallima ŋayru mutayaqqinin fa-'innahu yaŋŋulu 'alayhi sǝra zayǝn hatǝ yaŋŋulu hǝ f'ŋhǝ balagǝnǝ wa-lǝ 'adrǝ 368.22.
- 62 kǝna duħŋlun muttaŋilun bi-s-sayri ... wa-'adhuŋuhǝ hǝhǝndǝ 'ald qawlika huwa yaŋŋulu 'iǝd kunta

- tuhbiru 'annahu ft 'amalihi wa-'anna 'amalahu lam yanqat' 367.12.
 63 'innamā tudkaru lilmā lam yaqa' ba'du 165.3.
 64 lā yakānu ġazd'un 'abadan hattā yakūna l-kalāmū l-'awwalu ġayra wāġibin 402.3.
 65 fa-n-nānu lā tadhulu 'alā ft'lin qad waqa'a 'innamā tadhulu 'alā ġayri l-wāġibi 403.22.

2 A

Jean-Claude Milner (1989) soumet le principe de linéarité à l'épreuve: Le texte, pris à la lettre, est bien obscur: les phénomènes auditifs ne se déroulent pas seulement dans le temps mais également dans l'espace puisqu'ils supposent des vibrations, et après tout, tous les phénomènes empiriques se déroulent dans le temps, par conséquent rien de spécifique au langage. Même si l'on considère la linéarité au sens fort comme l'impossibilité de prononcer deux éléments à la fois, Milner rappelle qu'on prononce plusieurs traits distinctifs à la fois, que la proposition de Saussure est ambiguë car elle ne distingue pas les phonèmes des mots (ils ne sont peut-être pas justiciables des mêmes principes) et qu'en fait la linéarité, en ce sens fort, ne se réduit à rien d'autre qu'à l'insécabilité de l'atome: "on croit retrouver dans l'objet, sous une forme particulière, qu'on baptise linéarité, ce qui est seulement une exigence générale de l'analyse et de l'atomicité" p. 385. Néanmoins, Milner en convient, le principe garde sa force d'évidence.

On peut tenter de le sauver, non point comme une thèse sur le langage et le temps ni sur le rapport de la matérialité du langage, matérialité qui suppose une étendue, au temps, mais comme une résultante de la conformation de nos organes avec la matérialité du langage et ce qu'il en résulte par rapport au temps. On commencera par poser une distinction préalable: La succession (temporelle) est relative à l'énonciation. La linéarité est relative à l'énoncé. Examinons ce qu'il en est de la succession: Il ne s'agit pas de l'insécabilité de l'atome linguistique - ni d'ailleurs de la matérialité de l'espace - des rapports entre les éléments linguistiques qui soient des rapports de succession (au sens de Leibniz cité par Milner). Si l'on prend, par exemple, la question de la matérialité de la forme phonique donc observable, comme une suite de vibrations, on peut concevoir dans l'espace des vibrations simultanées de même nature correspondant à plusieurs atomes linguistiques insécables: Par exemple ceux correspondant aux atomes de ce fragment de Pascal cité par Milner le *silence éternel de ces espaces infinis*. L'insécabilité de l'atome, du moins l'atome phonologique, n'interdit donc point des rapports qui soient des "rapports de coexistence". Or c'est un fait donné à l'observation qu'alors que les corps physiques ont leurs atomes (insécables comme les atomes linguistiques) donnés simultanément dans l'instant, les atomes linguistiques ont cette propriété que leurs atomes, dans la chaîne parlée, ne sont point donnés simultanément dans l'instant mais se présentent l'un à la suite de l'autre, comme une succession temporelle. Si cela n'est pas une propriété intrinsèque de l'atome en tant que matérialité insécable, il faut bien dès lors, le rapporter à une autre matérialité: celle de nos organes langagiers, ou, de manière probablement bien plus simple, à l'unicité du lieu d'émission: un seul locuteur. C'est la conjonction de l'insécabilité de l'atome et de l'unicité du locuteur qui implique la succession des éléments dans l'énonciation et la linéarité dans l'énoncé. Mais cela n'est pas rien: des vibrations correspondant aux atomes du *silence éternel de ces espaces infinis* émis simultanément ne font point sens, surtout ne donnent point le sens du *silence éternel de ces espaces infinis*. Cela revient à dire que la structure du langage a à voir avec la linéarité, de là, en définitive, la force d'évidence des places, au sens que donne Milner à ce mot. Car après tout, on peut se demander pourquoi cette notion de place, si peu constante théoriquement, qui n'est posée que pour être réfutée, résiste-t-elle obstinément.

Ce "cela a à voir", Milner le pose dans son ouvrage comme un principe de naturalité. Il distingue entre place, position et site. La place s'épuise dans l'observable et dans la pure relation: A précède B. Le site se définit comme une relation d'occupation: il dit ce qui excède les termes dans un énoncé linguistique. Enfin, la position est une représentation géométrique du site, pour les grammaires qui développent une représentation géométrique de la syntaxe. Le principe de naturalité pose que, dans le cas canonique, la place récurrente d'un terme indique une position définie par une notion d'ordre ramifié. Dans une grammaire qui ne pose pas de géométrie complexe ni de notion d'ordre ramifié, la géométrie se réduit à son contenu le plus pauvre: la linéarité. Mais cela, à nouveau, n'est pas rien. La linéarité a la force d'une évidence empirique. Elle est, de ce fait, incontournable: Milner en convient, l'hypothèse des positions, et donc de l'ordre ramifié, reste tributaire, en un certain sens, de la linéarité de la forme observable: 396 "Une fois de plus, le principe de naturalité intervient. Il faut bien voir que, sans lui, la théorie ne dispose d'aucun indice empirique touchant le système des posi-

tions. L'hypothèse des positions court alors le risque d'être vide ou, ce qui revient au même, les systèmes de positions qu'on restitue courent le risque d'être entièrement arbitraires, et *ibid* "le système des positions ... joue le rôle de cause, et cela, notamment, à l'égard des systèmes de places. Mais cela suppose justement qu'entre la cause et l'effet, entre les positions et les places, il y ait quelque ressemblance". Sa force d'évidence est d'autant plus grande que les effets du principe de Naturalité, ainsi que le dit Milner, traversent tout le langage: Il est seul, en effet, à permettre de "remonter de l'observable à l'inobservable" p. 639. Aussi le retrouve-t-on dans des théories différentes et sur des objets différents. Il agit comme principe de limitation des modules dans une théorie qui pose l'existence de modules différents dans le langage (ainsi la théorie du gouvernement et du liage de Chomsky); il agit en phonologie structuraliste où les phonèmes entités abstraites, entretiennent une relation naturelle avec les segments phonétiques, etc (*ibid*).

Reste à savoir si une grammaire qui intègre la notion d'ordre "ramifié", c'est-à-dire qui intègre dans la représentation géométrique deux notions: la linéarité et la hiérarchie, est plus adéquate qu'une grammaire où les notions de linéarité et de hiérarchie sont deux principes efficients, mais disjoints, de la grammaire. Ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'on sera en face de deux grammaires différentes.

Un dernier mot reste à dire: Admettre la linéarité ne revient nullement à soutenir, pour s'exprimer dans les termes de Saussure, que l'essence du signe linguistique dépend de sa nature phonique. Cela revient seulement à dire que si la matérialité du signe était autre que phonique, les langues connaîtraient d'autres types de syntaxe. Quoiqu'il en soit, on prendra ici "la linéarité du signifiant" comme emblème de ce principe de naturalité. C'est, en effet, pour ne point préjuger de la grammaire en cause que nous nous sommes appuyés sur cette évidence de l'observable, sur la linéarité, quitte à ce que le mouvement même qui la pose l'ait déjà récusée. Du reste, on le verra, la linéarité, en tant que relation asymétrique, transitive et connexe, n'est point toujours une relation pertinente dans le Livre. Sa pertinence dépend de la nature des termes qu'elle ordonne. Par ailleurs, elle n'est point prise comme primitif mais expliquée comme un effet. Enfin, le thème de la linéarité regroupe, dans notre propos, des thèmes qui excèdent la relation de succession et regroupent ceux de voisinage et de domaine. Le principe de linéarité sera pris, en fait, comme une notion emblème de ce que Milner dit être la géométrie du langage et de la proposition qui peut se laisser déduire de l'examen de cette géométrie, à savoir que "le langage a un fonctionnement grossier" p. 644.

2 B

La notion d'*ibidda'* dans le Livre a été liée à l'énonciation dans BGK 1990. Mais ce lien s'énonce en des propositions qui nous semblent inadéquates: Selon BGK 1990, le Livre avancerait que tout énoncé a trois éléments minimaux, deux prédicatifs et le troisième énonciatif. L'*ibidda'* y est lié à la relation prédicative. Il s'agirait d'un opérateur par lequel le locuteur établit la situation énonciative elle-même comme repère de la situation prédicative (46). Il y aurait également une phrase verbale qui consisterait en 3 éléments: le prédicande et le prédicat et un repère temporel qui correspondrait à la forme verbale. En somme, la théorie de Sibawayhi ressemblerait aux théories énonciatives modernes (46). La difficulté de ces assertions ne réside point dans le rapprochement avec telle ou telle théorie contemporaine. On peut concevoir qu'il peut être éclairant. Il est dans le fait qu'elles passent sous silence tout ce qui ne s'y réduit pas et qu'elles manquent ainsi la spécificité de la théorie qu'elles entendent exposer, parfois la théorie même dans ses articulations essentielles.

Ainsi ces assertions se tiennent dans l'oubli de ce que la proposition du Livre qu'ils avancent pour étayer leur propos est une proposition sur les noms: "*awwalu 'ahwāli l-ismi l-ibidda'*" (6.15), et non point sur la relation entre les deux termes de la prédication. C'est précisément cela qui distingue le Livre des théories énonciatives modernes. Le Livre articule cette proposition sur l'*ibidda'* à d'autres concernant les gouverneurs des noms. "*innamā yadhulu n-nāṣibu wa-r-rāfi' u siwā l-ibidda' wa-l-ḡāru 'alā l-mubtada'*" (6.15). La question de cette articulation ne peut point ne pas se poser. On ne peut donc dissocier, comme l'affirme BGK 1990, l'aspect syntactico-sémantique qui formerait l'"originalité de Sibawayhi" (48) de "tout ce qui concerne les aspects plus formels de la distribution des marqueurs casuels" qui serait fondamentalement identique à celle des grammairiens ultérieurs. On risque de manquer l'essentiel. Enfin, étendre cette analyse à la phrase verbale qui contiendrait elle aussi trois éléments: le prédicande, le prédicat et un repère temporel qui correspondrait à la forme du verbe paraît bien discutable. On le sait, il n'existe pas de phrase verbale (ou nominale) dans le Livre. Mais l'objection essentielle est ailleurs. Etablir une symétrie entre la forme verbale en tant que repère

temporel et l'*ibtidā'* paraît surtout bien discutable au regard de la manière dont se présente le propos sur la forme verbale dans le Livre. Là aussi, le passage du Livre cité dans BGK 1990 pour étayer cette thèse ne met, à aucun moment, la forme verbale en rapport avec la relation prédicative. Le Livre se propose de distinguer, dans le prédicat lui-même, entre '*al-'amīla*' et '*al-'ahdā'*' (10.19). Si l'on met ce passage en rapport avec d'autres, notamment celui de la page qui suit, il s'avère que cette distinction est articulée à la théorie du gouvernement pour justifier la complémentation verbale et à une théorie des valeurs aspectuelles et temporelles du verbe que l'on se propose d'élucider plus bas. On est donc loin d'un modèle où on isole un repère temporel abstrait portant sur une relation prédicative.

Enfin, l'ensemble du Livre ne semble donner aucune justification à une théorie où l'énoncé serait composé de trois termes. La notion de '*mabnī 'alā'*', par exemple, ne met en relation que deux termes.

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A BALĀĠĪ APPROACH TO SOME GRAMMATICAL ŠAWĀHID

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It is generally accepted that Arab grammarians were predominantly concerned with structure and form — especially case-endings, uttered and elided operants, and the syntactic function of words — and rarely resorted to the criterion of meaning as the main arbiter in grammatical analysis. Despite some differences between grammarians in their emphasis on structural and formal (i.e. *lafẓī*) considerations or on meaning, preference of the first over the latter took place at a fairly early stage in the history of Arabic grammar — a tendency which certainly grew with time, and eventually tarnished the image of grammarians and lost them their credibility.

The failure of the grammarians in interpreting linguistic data primarily in accordance with meaning rather than the formal considerations they employed — let alone their inability to come up with a coherent grammatical theory based on meaning — is the main reason for the emergence of the discipline of *balāġa*. But this new discipline which evolved as a reaction to the shortcomings of *naḥw*, has its very roots embedded in *naḥw*. Not only were the main subjects of *balāġī* study derived from grammatical works,¹ but most *balāġī* authors were grammarians as well, and some of them have works in both disciplines, totally adopting the *naḥwī* approach in *naḥw* and then resorting to the *balāġī* perspective in *balāġa*. A stunning example is no other than al-Ġurġānī who, despite his uncompromising attack on the grammarians and his departure from their methods of syntactical analysis in his *Dalā'il al-'iğāz*, wrote a number of grammatical works with hardly any deviation from the traditional theory common to all authors on grammar. His *al-'Awāmil al-mi'a an-naḥwiyya* is a clear instance of his acceptance of the backbone of their grammatical theory; that is, the *'awāmil*, and his other published grammatical work, *al-Muqtaṣid*, which is one of his two commentaries on the *'Idāh* of 'Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī,² is not in any significant way different in approach from that of the so-called "traditional" authors representing the mainstream of Arab grammatical writings. It can be safely argued, as Zahrān does in his introduction to *al-'Azharī's* commentary on al-Ġurġānī's *al-'Awāmil al-mi'a an-naḥwiyya*,³ that al-Ġurġānī's legacy was transmitted in two distinct channels, firstly that of purely traditional grammar (*al-ġānib an-naḥwī at-taqlīdī al-ḥālīs*), and secondly that of *balāġa* where his works fluctuate from the traditional methods to the original application of his syntactical theory.

¹ Among the subjects which Sibawayhi touches upon and which became characteristic of *balāġī* study are *ḥadḥ*, *ziyāda*, *ḍikr*, *'idmār*, *taqdīm* and *ta'ḥīr*, *istiḥdām*, *qasr*, *faṣl* and *waṣl*, *taṣbīḥ*, *isti'drā*, *kināya*, *ta'kid al-madh bi-mā yuṣbiḥ ad-ḍamm*, *taḡrīd*, etc. For a detailed list of such subjects in the works of Sibawayhi, al-Mubarrad, Ta'lab, and others, see A. Q. Ḥusayn (1975:54-5; 128-9; 205-7; 231-2).

² His other commentary is a much more expanded work called *al-Muġnī*. See Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Nuḥa* 265.

³ al-Ġurġānī, *'Awāmil* 31-3.

Although the study of *balāḡa* was eventually plagued with methodological rigidity and sheer prescriptiveness — as is evident in the work of someone like as-Sakkākī, for example — its early stages represent, in several ways, a serious departure from grammatical concerns accompanied by a clear definition of its corpus. We thus know of no work which presents a problem in classification under *naḥw* or *balāḡa*, due to the clear-cut distinction in subject, classification, and analysis. In an earlier study,⁴ the present author tried to examine the differences in syntactical analysis between Sībawayhi and al-Ġurḡānī, being the two key figures in *naḥw* and *balāḡa* respectively. Without delving into individual differences and idiosyncrasies, the results of that study seem to hold true generally for other grammarians and rhetoricians. Based partly on that comparison and partly on further observations, the main differences between the syntactical analysis of the grammarians and that of the rhetoricians, as sometimes applied to identical linguistic material, can be summarized in the following points, and in broadly generalized terms:

1. Grammarians are usually more inclined to the analysis of structure, especially the syntactic relations between parts of the utterance from the point of view of their theory on operants, while rhetoricians show more concern for meaning generated from various syntactic relations within the utterance. Indeed *‘ilm al-ma‘ānī* — which as a term and a subject in its own right is inconceivable in the *naḥwī* tradition given its methods and concerns — rests mainly on the meaning dimension of *ḥabār*, *‘iṣṣā* and *‘iṣnād*. Even with later authors, such chapters as *‘aḥwāl al-musnad ‘ilayhi* and *‘aḥwāl al-musnad*⁵ are crowded with observations on meaning, the extent of which is not even remotely challenged in any grammar book, and are practically free from the study of the formal aspect of syntactic relations, such as the function of particles and the restoration of supposedly elided parts.⁶ The other two branches of *balāḡa*; namely, *‘ilm al-bayān* and *‘ilm al-badī‘* similarly thrive on the scrutiny of meaning and guard against purely formal considerations.

2. Grammarians divide their subject-matter according to their theory of regimen — the focal point of their syntactic study — hence the traditional arrangement of nouns under *marfū‘āt*, *mansūbāt* and *maḡnūrāt*, and of verbs under *mansūb* and *maḡzūm*.⁷ Their very terms for these parts reveal their concern for regimen, based on the relation between an *‘āmil* and a *ma‘mūl*, and due to this concern, whole chapters of grammar are arbitrarily classified under one of the above divisions. One of the more flagrant of such arbitrary classification is that *nida‘* comes under *mansūbāt*, despite the fact that the largest part of its corpus has a characteristic *ḍamma*,

⁴ R. Baalbaki (1983) esp. 12 ff.

⁵ See, for example, al-Qazwīnī, *Talḥīṣ* 53 ff and 101 ff, and as-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ* 175 ff and 205 ff.

⁶ Note how al-Qazwīnī refers his reader to *‘ilm an-naḥw* when he touches upon particles and avoids discussing their functions, restricting his argument to their meanings; see *Talḥīṣ* 109.

⁷ Verbs in the indicative are not assigned a separate *bāb* by the grammarians, witness their concern for *‘awāmīl* which dictated the study of verbs under the influence of an operant, but not of the *marfū‘*. Unlike verbs, nouns in the nominative are assigned a special *bāb*, but only as a framework for the study of the regimen of those particles that are introduced to a nominal sentence; i.e. the so-called *naḍīsih*. Incidental discussion of indicative verbs in grammar occurs in the sections on the predicate, the circumstantial accusative, the similarity between the active participle and the *muḍārrī‘*, etc.

because of the grammarians' assumption of a verb '*unādī*' to which they ascribe regimen of the *munādā* in *maḥall*, thus causing the *munādā* to become a direct object, hence in the realm of *maṣībūt*. Conversely, the theory of regimen plays no role whatsoever in the setup of Arabic rhetoric. This is evident not only in those rhetorical subjects which have no parallels in grammar, such as *taṣbūḥ*, *kināya*, *isti'āra*, *ṭibāq*, *tawriya*, etc., but also in subjects common to both disciplines. It is strange indeed that the grammarians — at least after the formative stages of the second and third centuries — were so much preoccupied by their theory of regimen that they did not assign separate chapters for a number of basic grammatical issues, and even for some parts of speech. Nowhere do we find, for example, a separate grammatical chapter in verbal '*isnād*' and nominal '*isnād*', or on the change of meaning from *ḥabar* to '*inṣā*'. More striking still is that grammarians touch on several parts of speech casually in different chapters of their regimen-oriented approach. Thus while rhetoricians discuss negation particles as a subject in its own right, grammarians mention each of those particles in the chapter under which it is classified according to regimen, and so *laysa* is with the sisters of *kāna*, *lāta* with the sisters of '*inna*', generic *lā* in a separate entity usually annexed to '*inna*', *lan* with the subjunctive, and *lam* with the jussive. Similarly, interrogative particles, which form an independent topic in rhetoric, are dispersed in grammar over a number of places (e.g. '*idāfa*', *ṣarf*, *ẓarf*) where the wide range of their meanings and usage is overshadowed, if not totally obliterated, by the grammarians' concern for the formal aspects of these particles.

3. Grammarians impose their own criteria on the structure of the sentence by relying heavily on suppletive insertion (*taqdīr*) to restore the "missing" parts of the utterance, while rhetoricians completely ignore such practice and depart in their analysis from the "surface structure" so to speak. Sībawayhi has several chapters on structures from which verbs were supposedly elided and hence have to be restored,⁸ frequently contradicting the aim of the speaker in his original utterance.⁹ As a result, the study of grammar became widely removed from the given point of departure; i.e. the utterance, and at times relied more on abstraction than on actual usage, while rhetoric mostly tried to detect the meaning of a particular context from the very structure through which the speaker chose to convey meaning. For instance, the construction '*a-zaydan taḍribu*' in rhetoric has a meaning very different from that of the construction '*a-taḍribu zaydan*', while the restoration by the grammarians of a verb immediately following the interrogative particle effectively shatters this difference, sacrificing meaning for externally-imposed considerations. It should be noted here that the dissatisfaction some authors have expressed with *taqdīr* was always justly directed against the grammarians and not against the rhetoricians.

4. Grammarians are much less concerned than rhetoricians with nuances of meaning particular to different constructions. For grammarians, the two constructions *zaydun al-muntaliqu* and *al-muntaliqu zaydun* are interchangeable because both the

⁸ See his discussion of *ṣarf* (I, 67), *istiḥdām* (I, 64-9; 459), *nafy* (I, 72-5), and '*amr* and *nahy*' (I, 69).

⁹ In a construction like *zaydan idribhu*, Sībawayhi restores a verb before the noun, proposing '*idrib zaydan idribhu*', which is not in line with the speaker's aim of using a structure different from *idrib zaydan*, for whereas the latter specifies the action to be directed to *zayd*, the former specifies who is to be the object of hitting. Cp. this and other examples in Baalbaki (1983:20-2).

subject and predicate in each are definite,¹⁰ the only difference being what they call 'ināya or ihtimām.¹¹ Similar sentences beginning with a *nāsīl*, such as *kāna zaydun 'ahāka* and *kāna 'ahūka zaydan*, receive the same treatment by the grammarians.¹² The lengthy discussion on such constructions in grammatical works¹³ is stunning because its richness in details and *šawāhid* is undermined by total insensitivity to nuances of meaning which reflect the speaker's aim in his exact choice of words. The rhetoricians, however, tried to fill this gap which came to form an independent subject of inquiry known as *'ahwāl al-musnad 'ilayhi* and *'ahwāl al-musnad*, and was based on the stipulation that any difference in *lafz* entails change in meaning¹⁴ regardless of the criteria imposed by the grammarians to suit their methods of analysis and general theory. In one of the most bitter attacks al-Ġurġānī made on the grammarians, he accuses them of failing to discover nuances of meaning (*funūq* and *wuġūh*) in a single subject, and asserts that their reader can do without what they have to offer but badly needs that which they ignored.¹⁵

The question of *šawāhid* can serve as a useful framework for the comparative study of *naḥw* and *balāġa*, and is of particular importance since it is only in this area that the subject matter in both disciplines is so common. One should hasten to say that the approach of the grammarians and rhetoricians to the *šawāhid* confirms the points of difference between them as discussed above. However, this matter is too complicated to be explained away merely as a straightforward dichotomy, and it is the aim of this paper to show that despite the schism in methodology between the two groups, one can still detect instances where certain grammarians show a considerable degree of manoeuvre by relinquishing their otherwise basic concern for *lafz*, and resorting to a more meaning-based interpretation of linguistic data, much more characteristic of the rhetoricians' style. It is these instances that demonstrate grammar's claim to the study of meaning, which was unfortunately abandoned, thus uprooting this study from its natural setting and opening the way for a new discipline with a fresh look at old material.

The following examples should suffice to stress the major difference in approach to *šawāhid* by the two groups before we examine the more intricate cases in which some grammarians give priority to meaning over form and theory:

1. 'Abū n-Naġm al-Ġilī's line: *qad 'aṣḥaḥat 'ummu l-ḥiyārī tadda'ī * 'alayya ḍanban kulluhu lam 'aṣna'ī* is quoted by the grammarians with two different readings

¹⁰ Their term for this is *mutasāwiyyān fī t-ta'rīf wa-t-tankīr*, hence the interchangeability also of *zaydun qā'imun* and *qā'imun zaydun*. See the grammatical issues on this subject in as-Suyūṭī, *Hamf* I, 102 ff.

¹¹ See al-Ġurġānī's refutation of the grammarians' reliance on 'ināya and ihtimām in *Dalā'il* 84.

¹² This probably originates from Sibawayhi's statement (*Kūṭab* I, 24): *'wa-iddā kānā ma'rīfatan fa-'anta bi-l-ḥiyār 'ayyuhumā mā ḡa'alahu fā'ilan raṣa'tahu wa-naṣabta l-'aḥar*'.

¹³ As in Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* I, 92 ff, Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* I, 227 ff, and as-Suyūṭī, *Hamf* I, 101 ff.

¹⁴ The clearest formulation of this principle is al-Ġurġānī's assertion that it is wrong to suppose that *taqdīm* and *ta'ḥrīf* is sometimes *mufīd* and sometimes not, and his insistence that any such change is necessarily significant in meaning. See *Dalā'il* 86-7.

¹⁵ *Dalā'il* 85. See other examples of al-Ġurġānī's ridicule of the grammarians' superficial analysis in Baalbaki (1983:15-6).

of *kull*: the nominative and the accusative,¹⁶ and they argue that both forms are metrically acceptable. It is obvious that the grammarians here admit these two forms because both lend themselves to proper *ʾirāb*, regardless of meaning, as *kullu* would be a subject, the predicate of which is *lam ʾaṣnaʿi*, while *kulla* would be a fronted or preposed (*muqaddam*) direct object of *ʾaṣnaʿi*. In rhetoric, on the other hand, the criterion of meaning rather than *ʾirāb* is given predominance, and the use of the accusative in *kulla* becomes inadmissible. As al-Ġurġānī (*Dalāʾil* 215) points out, the nominative expresses the poet's denial of any *ḍanb*, totally or partially (*lā qalīlan wa-lā katīran*), while the accusative is contrary to what the poet means since it implies an admission of partial guilt. In other words, the nominative indicates *ʿumūm as-salb*, and the accusative *salb al-ʿumūm*.¹⁷

2. Two lines by al-Farazdaq usually cited together are: *ʾilā malikin mā ʾummuhu min Muḥārribin* * *ʾabūhu wa-la kānat Kulaybun tuṣāhiruh* and *wa-mā miṭluhu fī n-nāsi ʾillā mumallakan* * *ʾabū ʾummihi ḥayyun ʾabūhu yuqāribuh*. Both lines are quoted by rhetoricians as examples of verbal complexity (*at-taʿqīd al-laḥẓī*), one of three major features, the absence of which is a prerequisite for a structure to be described as *balīḡ*, the other two being *ḍaʿf at-taʿlīf* and *tanāfūr al-kalimāt*.¹⁸ Grammarians, however, cite the two lines without reference to this feature,¹⁹ as a *šāhid* on the fronting of the predicate (*taqdīm al-ḥabar*), and are satisfied with indicating the grammatical function of each of its components. Indeed, Ibn Ġinnī goes as far as proclaiming that the structure of the first is correct or straightforward (*mustaqīm*) and free from disarrangement (*lā ḥabṭa fīhi*).²⁰

3. ʿAbdallāh b. Hammām as-Salūlī's line: *fa-lammā ḥašūu ʾaẓāfirahum* * *naḡawtu wa-ʾarhanuhum Mālika* recurs in a number of grammatical sources as a *šāhid* on the usage of *ḥāl* with an imperfect verb in the affirmative.²¹ Such a verb, according to these sources, cannot be preceded by the circumstantial *wāw*, as one would say *ḡāʾa zaydun yaḍḥaku*, and not *ḡāʾa zaydun wa-yaḍḥaku*, and so constructions like *naḡawtu wa-ʾarhanuhum* and *qumtu wa-ʾaṣukku ʾaynahu* are interpreted by supplying a subject, the predicate of which would be the imperfect, leaving the

¹⁶ Authors who mention the two possibilities include Sībawayhi (*Kiṭāb* I, 44), al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī* II, 95), Ibn Ġinnī (*Ḥaṣḍʾīs* III, 303-4), and al-Baġdādī (*Ḥizna* I, 174-5).

¹⁷ This is smartly formulated by al-Baġdādī (*Ḥizna* I, 174-5) who contrasts the position of the grammarians represented by Sībawayhi with that of the *bayḍiyyūn* or *ahl al-bayān*, and unsurprisingly sides with the former.

¹⁸ al-Qazwīnī, *Talḥīf* 26 ff., and al-ʿAbbāsī's *Maʿdhid* I, 43-4. In his *ʿUmda* (II, 266-7), Ibn Rašīq quotes ar-Rummānī's assertion that complexity (*ʾiṣkāl al-kalām*) is due to three causes: departure from normality, using longer than necessary expressions, and the use of homonyms, and that all three concur in the line *wa-mā miṭluhu* etc., the first being embodied in the bad arrangement of words, the second in using *ʾabū ʾummihi* instead of *ḥdlihi*, and the third in using *ḥayy* which could mean either *ʾqabīla* or a "living creature".

¹⁹ See Ibn Fāris, *Kiṭāb aṣ-Ṣif* 109; Ibn Ġinnī, *Ḥaṣḍʾīs* II, 394; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* 116; al-ʿAynī, *Maqāṣid* I, 555; and as-Suyūṭī, *Hamʿ* I, 118.

²⁰ *Ḥaṣḍʾīs* II, 394. Cp. I, 329 where Ibn Ġinnī says that the line *wa-mā miṭluhu* etc. is unjustified, but still insists that its meaning is apparent.

²¹ See Ibn as-Sikkī, *ʾIṣlāḥ* 231; Ibn ʿAqīl, *Šarḥ* I, 656; al-ʾUṣmūnī, *Šarḥ* 256; al-ʿAynī, *Maqāṣid* III, 190; and as-Suyūṭī, *Hamʿ* I, 246.

nominal sentence itself to act as the circumstantial accusative. Rhetoricians, however, have a different interpretation: the *wāw* here is not circumstantial but copulative,²² thus *fa-'arhanuhum* is equivalent to *fa-rahantuhum*.²³ This interpretation is in line with the rhetoricians' avoidance of suppletive insertion, which is bound to change the construction, and hence the meaning. Furthermore, the imperfect would indicate continuous action,²⁴ and is therefore inappropriate in this context unless it is interpreted as perfect.

4. The line attributed to al-Farazdaq or 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib: *qad 'alimat Salmā wa-ḡārātuhā * mā qattara l-fārisa 'illā 'anā* provides a good example for the difference in interests between grammarians and rhetoricians: while grammarians investigate the formal aspect of the construction and the usage of the independent pronoun after 'illā without the slightest consideration for meaning,²⁵ rhetoricians delve into the meaning of the constructions *mā ... illā* and the nuances it takes in different contexts.²⁶ al-Ḡurḡānī differentiates in meaning between constructions like *mā ḡā'anf 'illā zaydun*, where the speaker denies the coming of anyone other than *zayd*, and those like *mā qultu l-yawma 'illā mā qultuhu 'amsi bi-'aynihi*, where the speaker means no such denial but stresses that what he said on two different days is indeed identical. Thus, *mā qattara l-fārisa 'illā 'anā* does not mean that no one else did so, but that the speaker asserts that he did. With such accuracy in determining meaning, unparalleled in grammar, it surely becomes irrelevant whether 'illā is followed by an independent or a dependent pronoun!

The schism between the two disciplines need not be stressed any further, and should be considered as a major landmark in the formation and development of Arabic linguistic sciences. But there remains, as we pointed out earlier, instances which demonstrate that some grammarians — in the various stages of the history of grammar — did offer meaning-oriented interpretation of linguistic material in which they ignored their basic concern for *lafz*. This is, of course, not to say that the grammarians neglected the meaning of utterances except in such instances, but it is in their dispersed comments and observations on these examples that one detects, if not a trend or a clear inclination of theirs then a remnant of their participation in the field of 'ilm al-ma'ānī which belongs to grammar itself by virtue of its inclusion of the study of syntax. It is on this organic relationship between 'ilm al-ma'ānī and 'ilm an-naḥw that much of al-Ḡurḡānī's theory rests, as he established that *naẓm*, which for him is the centrepiece of meaning, is no more than organizing structure according

²² al-Ḡurḡānī, *Dalā'il* 159-60; al-Qazwīnī, *Talḥīṣ* 200-1; and al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'ādhid* I, 285-6.

²³ In support of this interpretation, al-Ḡurḡānī quotes an anecdote by Ibn 'Atīk with the construction: *fa-'ahwaytu nahwa ṣ-sawt fa-'adribuhu bi-s-sayf...* Such usage of the imperfect is frequent in anecdotes, and is usually reserved for the most interesting part in the narration, and is still alive in some Arabic dialects. al-Ḡurḡānī's shrewd observation is perfectly convenient to the context of as-Salūfī's line, which is anecdotal in nature.

²⁴ This is what al-Ḡurḡānī refers to as *taḡaddud*, and brings as the basic argument in interpreting another *ṣāhid*: *ba'aḡil 'ilayya 'arḡahum yatawassamu* (*Dalā'il* 135-6), where *mutawassiman* would not be appropriate, since it annuls the intended *taḡaddud*.

²⁵ See Sibawayhi, *Kiṭāb* I, 379; Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Ṣarḥ* III, 103; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* 309; and as-Suyūfī, *Ṣarḥ* 719-20.

²⁶ al-Ḡurḡānī, *Dalā'il* 260-1; al-Qazwīnī, *Talḥīṣ*'s margin 140-1; and as-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ* 291-2.

to what grammar stipulates (*'alladī yaqtaḍīhi 'ilm an-naḥw*)²⁷ This ingenious formulation of the relationship between the two disciplines holds the key to much of our understanding of the split which occurred in linguistic study and of the *raison d'être* of *'ilm al-ma'ānī*; namely, the grammarians' default in restricting their study to one aspect of *naẓm*; i.e. form, at the expense of the other side of the coin, meaning.

The following examples demonstrate how a grammarian allows the violation of a rule when the meaning required by the construction so necessitates. Such examples are contrary to the general practice whereby a grammarian rejects or interprets a certain usage which does not conform to the rule applicable to the majority of similar cases. This adherence to *qiyās* is said to have been more characteristic of Basran than of Kufan methods, but even if this could be confirmed from the original sources — which is extremely difficult except for a few cases, and is beyond the scope of the present paper — it is largely immaterial here, as the main Kufan argument for accepting usage rejected by the Basrans was not based on the meaning of the utterance or the *ṣāhid*, but on their acceptance of anomalous material and of unverified *riwāyas* which the Basrans rejected. The instances provided here are not examples of such factional controversies which are widespread in the sources and do not relate to the dimension of meaning, but cases in which grammarians give meaning predominance over form and grammatical rules, a method widely applied by rhetoricians but hardly by grammarians:

1. In the chapter *hādā bāb mā yuḥtār fīhi n-naṣb li-'anna l-'āḥir laysa min naw' al-'awwal*, Sībawayhi explains that the *Hiḡāzīs* use the accusative for the noun after the exceptive particle in constructions like *mā fīhā 'aḥadun 'illā ḥimāran* because the two nouns, *'aḥad* and *ḥimār*, are not of the same *naw'*.²⁸ The use of the accusative is indeed reported by some grammarians as obligatory for *ḡumhūr al-'arab*.²⁹ This is an ideal situation for grammarians to reject any other usage on the grounds that it does not tally with the *qiyās*. However, Sībawayhi accepts the Tamīmī usage whereby the excepted takes the nominative, as in Ibn al-Ayham's line where *ḡayru* — which always takes the case of the noun after *'illā* in a similar construction with *'illā* — is in the nominative: *laysa baynī wa-bayna Qaysin 'itābun * ḡayru ṭa'ni l-kulā wa-ḍarbi r-riqābi*. The reason for this is provided by Sībawayhi himself, who refers to al-*Ḥattī*'s explanation that the nominative in such usage is equivalent to that in 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib's line: *wa-ḥaylin qad dalaftu lahā bi-ḥaylin * taḥīyyatu baynihim ḍaribun waḡ'ī*, where *ḍarbi* is itself the *taḥīyya*, and therefore *ṭa'ni* is itself the *'itāb*. Formal considerations have obviously given way here to the supremacy of meaning.

2. Concerning the *rağaz*: *wa-sāḡiyayni miṭli zaydin wa-Ḥu'al * saqbāni mamšūqāni makuṣṣā l-'aḍal*, Sībawayhi admits the nominative in *sacbāni*, although

²⁷ al-*Ġurğānī*, *Dalā'il* 63 ff., esp. 64.3-4. al-*Ġurğānī*'s theory on *naẓm* is significant to grammar from another perspective: the criterion of *ṣawāb* and *ḥata'*, since what is *ṣawāb* is, by definition, in agreement with the meanings and principles of grammar, in the widest sense proposed by al-*Ġurğānī* (*ma'dīn n-naḥw wa-'ahkamuhu*), and what is *ḥata'* is surely incompatible with these meanings and principles. Adherence to this distinction would have provided grammarians with a clear-cut principle for examining linguistic data, and saved grammar from the chaotic status in which authors bitterly differ on what is permissible and what is not.

²⁸ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 363. Cp. al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 413. and Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Ṣarḥ* II, 80.

²⁹ Ibn 'Aqīl, *Ṣarḥ* I, 600, and al-Uṣmūnī, *Ṣarḥ* 229.

it modifies *sāqiyayni* in the accusative (*Kitāb* I, 226). aš-Šantamarī's elucidation of this admission (*Tahṣīl* I, 226) leads the reader to believe that it stems from reasons related to *lafz*, since the *rāḡiz* could not have used the expected form *saqbayni mamṣūḡayni* as this would entail the form *maknūzay l-ʿaḡal* which damages the meter.³⁰ This superficial explanation misses the spirit of Sībawayhi's stand which transcends form and penetrates into the impact of form on meaning. What Sībawayhi is saying in this important paragraph is that the accusative, *saqbayni*, would have been the normal usage which accords with the *qiyās* adjectives follow, but the use of the nominative *saqbānt* is stronger (*'aqwā*), and although Sībawayhi does not elaborate on this point, it is clear that this strength is due to *isti'nāf* with which a new sentence is formed (but only due to his suppletive insertion, i.e. *humā saqbāni*). This new sentence serves as an answer to the query: who are the *sāqiyāni*, and hence shows the interest of the speaker or the one addressed — depending on the source of the query — in what the utterance started with, an interest which the ordinary use of the adjective cannot possibly express.

3. Several grammarians quote al-Ḥansā's line: *tarta'u mā rata'at ḥattā 'iqdā ddakarāt *fa-'innamā hiya 'iqbālun wa-'idbānū*, and offer two interpretations for the construction *hiya 'iqbālun wa-'idbānū*: either that the bereaved animal described is portrayed as being itself the *'iqbāl* and *'idbār* due to the frequency of its performing both actions, or that the expression has a missing element and the *taqdīr* is: *hiya ḡānu 'iqbālīn wa-'idbārīn*.³¹ Ibn Ğinnī, however, decisively prefers the first interpretation which he describes (*Ḥaṣṣā'is* II, 230) as *'aqwā*,³² and the comparison he makes between this line and a number of other *šawāhid* leaves no room for doubt as to how much this interpretation is stronger than the one with *taqdīr*. His preference of the interpretation based on meaning to the one based on the formal restructuring of the construction, and the zealous argument he makes, show what *'ilm al-ma'ānī* owes to grammar in way of separate comments and observation, though not as an uninterrupted method of study.³³ In fact, the discussion of al-Ḥansā's line in rhetorical books³⁴ — and probably the whole section of *al-maḡāz al-ʿaqlī* — is indebted to Ibn Ğinnī's views on this matter.

4. There are several instances in which a grammarian defends, on the grounds of meaning, what other grammarians consider as a syntactically objectionable construction. This should serve as a reminder of the presence, within what could be

³⁰ Cp. also aš-Šantamarī, *Nukāt* I, 448.

³¹ Both interpretations are given by al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* III, 230) and Ibn aš-Šaḡarī (*ʿAmālī* I, 71). Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 169) cites this line as an example of *sa'at al-kalām*, i.e. the first interpretation, but a thorough reading of his text shows that he also allows the second interpretation since he compares al-Ḥansā's line with another *šāhid*, that of Mutammim, which he explains by *istiḥṣāf* and *iḥṣār*. al-Baḡdādī (*Ḥizāna* I, 207) mentions a third interpretation; namely, that the verbal noun must be interpreted here as an active participle, with the sense of *hiya muqbālun wa-mudbārun*. This possibility is also mentioned by as-Sifrāwī in his *Šarḥ* (*Kitāb*'s margin I, 169). As for Ibn al-'Anbārī, he offers the second interpretation only in his *ʿAḍḍā*, 249.

³² Cp. Ibn Ğinnī, *Ḥaṣṣā'is* III, 189.

³³ Note, for example, how Ibn Ğinnī's *Luma'* is a purely grammatical work with little to distinguish it from other books of grammar in content and method.

³⁴ See al-Ġurḡānī, *Dalā'il* 233-4, and al-Qazwīnī, *Tahṣīl*'s margin 47-8.

called the circle of grammarians, of a dissenting voice from time to time, but, admittedly, neither vehement nor frequent enough to constitute a corrective movement in the established grammatical methods. Examples of these syntactical views are the following:

a. On the question of the permissibility of suffixing to the *fā'il* a pronoun that refers to a subsequent *maṣ'ūl bihi*, as in *zāna nawruhu š-šagara* or *ḍaraba ḡulāmuḥu zaydan*, the *ḡumhūr* is reported to be unanimous on its rejection, with the exception of Ibn Ḡinnī on the authority of al-'Aḥfaṣ, and of a certain 'Abū 'Abdallāh at-Ṭuwāl (d.243).³⁵ The grammarians' rejection of such usage comes in spite of the abundance of its poetic *šawāhid* (five in the '*Alfiyya šunīh*', and several other lines in other sources). For Ibn Ḡinnī, however, the '*ig'mā'*' of the grammarians is irrelevant, as he asserts (*Ḥaṣā'is* I, 293-8) that the *hā'* of *rabbuḥu* in 'Abū l-'Aswad's line: *ḡazā rabbuḥū 'annī 'Adiyya bna Ḥātimin * ḡazā'a l-kilābi l-'āwiyāti wa-qad fa'al* does refer to 'Adiyy. The lengthy syntactic discussion that follows clearly shows how Ibn Ḡinnī scorns the rules set by the grammarians when these rules fail to take the significance attached to the syntactical arrangement into account.

b. Grammarians unanimously agree that *kāna* is otiose or superfluous (*zā'ida*) in al-Farazdaq's line: *fa-kayfa 'idā ra'aytu diyāra qawmin * wa-ḡirānin lanā kănū kirāmi*,³⁶ and thus its omission has no bearing on meaning. al-Mubarrad reports (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 117) that all grammarians interpret the line as a *šāhid* of otiose *kāna*, but defiantly announces that he has a different interpretation, whereby *lanā* syntactically belongs to *kāna*, and not to *ḡirānin*, hence: "*wa-ḡirānin, lanā kănū, kirāmi*", rather than "*wa-ḡirānin lanā, kănū, kirāmi*". The rule on the redundancy of *kāna* is thus superseded by the meaning of the construction, and by no other than al-Mubarrad, one of the grammarians most fond of form and operants throughout his work.

c. The *ḡumhūr* of grammarians is reported not to allow constructions such as *marartu ḡālisatan bi-Hindin* where the circumstantial accusative precedes the genitive noun it refers to.³⁷ Accordingly, different interpretations are suggested for 'Urwa b. Ḥizām's line *la-'in kāna bardu l-mā'i haymāna šādiyan * 'ilayya ḥabīban 'innahā la-ḥabību*, all of which — as al-Baḡdādī and al-'Aynī note — to avoid admitting that this construction is permissible. In fact, acceptance of such constructions, despite the grammarians' unanimity, is attributed by Ibn Barhān to 'Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and Ibn Kaysān (Ibn an-Nāẓim, *Šarḥ* 323)³⁸ and although no reason is given for this acceptance, it is highly probable that it is based on the particularity of meaning the construction has, since it obviously differs from its counterpart in which the accusative follows the noun, as in *marartu bi-Hindin ḡālisatan* and *ḥabīban 'ilayya*.

³⁵ Those reporting the *ḡumhūr*'s unanimity include Ibn aš-Šaḡarī (*Amālī* I, 101-2); Ibn 'Aqīl (*Šarḥ* I, 493); al-'Uṣmūnī (*Šarḥ* 178); Ibn Hišām (*Awḍaḥ* II, 125); Ibn Ya'īs (*Šarḥ* I, 76); al-'Aynī (*Maqāṣid* II, 489); and as-Suyūṭī (*Ham'* I, 66).

³⁶ See, for example, Sibawayhi, *Kiṭāb* I, 289; Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Asrār* 136; al-Ḥurḡānī *'Awāmil* 252; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* 287; and al-Baḡdādī, *Ḥizna* IV, 37.

³⁷ For discussion of such constructions, see aš-Šan'ānī, *Tahdīb* 225-6; Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* I, 640-3; al-'Uṣmūnī, *Šarḥ* 248-9; al-Baḡdādī, *Ḥizna* I, 533-6; and al-'Aynī, *Maqāṣid* III, 156-60.

³⁸ See other *šawāhid* of this phenomenon: Ibn an-Nāẓim, *Šarḥ* 323-5.

Apart from its importance in clarifying the rise and growth of linguistic sciences, and in our understanding of the scope defined for its various constituents, the comparative study of *šawāhid* is extremely significant from another perspective rarely given the attention it deserves by modern scholarship; namely, the pedagogical implications of the complexity of grammatical material taught in the Arab world at the secondary and university levels. Most *šawāhid* are loaded with various possibilities different grammarians suggest at the formal level, largely ignoring contexts and nuances. The characteristically *balāġī* approach to *šawāhid*, when applied consistently and with little concern for anomalies and irregularities, would enhance the significance of this wealthy data, and facilitate its study so as to make it less repulsive to students. In an earlier study (Baalbaki 1986:7-17), the present author examined the *šawāhid* of *wāw al-ma'īyya* according to the meaning the construction acquires with the subjunctive or indicative verb following the *wāw*. Regardless of the results of that study, it demonstrated how a given sample of *šawāhid* can be freshly examined by giving priority to meaning and context, rather than making them subservient to form and *ʿrāb*. Much can be done in this domain to restore to grammar what rightfully belongs to it: *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, and the focal point in this has to be the available corpus of *šawāhid*.

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CLASSICAL ARABIC *NI'MA* AND *B'ISA*

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The two are called by the Arab grammarians 'verbs of praise and dispraise', *fi'lā l-madhi wa-d-damm*. But their status as verbs is distinctly questionable. An Arabic predicate may be either verbal or non-verbal, so that mere function as a predicate is not a sufficient indication of verbal status; nor is the time factor (often thought of as the main characteristic of European language verbs - hence terms like *Zeitwort*), for not all Arabic verbs are time-limited. The sole criterion that is available for defining an Arabic verb is its capability of person and number inflections which either express or echo the nature of the subject. But *n/b* have no first or second person forms, no dual or plural inflections; they are only capable of taking a feminine ending *-t*, and that is extremely rare. In the vast majority of instances they are wholly uninflected, *mabniyy*. Further, a 3p verb like *māta* can be understood as a complete sentence (*kalām*) "he died", whereas *n/b* cannot. In this respect they bear some analogy to the particle *la'alla* which is not inflectible, rather than *'asā* which has personal and number inflections, though both of them semantically modify the predicate in the same way, by the addition of the concept of 'dubiety'.

There is an English nursery rhyme about Little Jack Horner, who was greedily eating his Christmas pie and exclaimed "What a good boy am I!". This is an 'affective' variation (having an optional alternative "How good a boy am I!") on the basic non-affective statement "I am a good boy", where there are two predicates: in one he describes himself as a boy (not a girl or dog), in the other as good in the domain where a boy can be described as good/bad (different from the qualification 'good' used e.g. of a musician). He might perhaps more truly have said "What a pig am I", in which case the predication as 'pig' is in itself a term of dispraise, and does not need to be qualified as good/bad.

Arabic has one form exactly mirroring English "What a pig am I", namely *'ayyu hinzūrin 'anā*, marked by inversion of theme and predicate, and prefixing of what was originally an interrogative.

For the non-affective form Arabic has a pair of verbs, *ḥasuna/sā'a*, used both for the simple evaluative "is good/bad" (e.g. *'aslama 'alā yadi fulānin wa-ḥasuna 'islāmuhu* "he was converted to Islam by so-and-so and his conversion was a good one"), and also for a categorizing plus evaluative predicate, with the categorization expressed by a 'specifying' accusative (*taḥṣiṣ*), as in Q. 4.71 *ḥasuna 'ulā'ika raḥṭān* "those are a goodly company" [Blachère (1949-50) has "Combien ceux-là sont bons comme compagnons", but the affective word 'combien' would be better omitted] or "those are good *qua* company".

In order to modify this by adding the affective overtone, one may use *n/b* for the good/bad antithesis, expanded by a statement of the domain in which it operates. But usage seems to dictate that this pair is not employed without statement of the domain of evaluation (e.g. **ni'ma 'islāmuhu* and **ni'ma 'ulā'ika* are not admissible), except in one type of sentence of frequent occurrence in the Q, where *n/b* is followed by a clause headed with 'relational' *mā* (*mā al-mawṣūla*); in these I cannot see any way

of avoiding analysis of the clause as theme of a simple evaluative predicate. Thus Q. 3.187 *bi'sa mā yaštarawna* "how evil is what they purchase!", 5.79 *bi'sa mā kānū yaf'alūna* "how evil is what they were doing!", 2.271 *nī'mā* [*<nī'ma mā*] *hiya* "how good is that which it [scil. almsgiving] is!"; and, with fronted main predicate and embedded clause predicate, 4.58 *'inna llāha nī'imū ya'izukum bihi* "how good is that with which God counsels you".

Perhaps one should add parenthetically that in Q. 7.150 *bi'sa mā ḥalaftumūnā* "how evil is that which you took in succession to me", az-Zamahšarī's glossing of the *mā* as equivalent to *ḥilāfa*, i.e. the *mašdar* of the verb, suggests the possibility of interpreting it here as a *mā al-mašdariyya* (*Kaššāf* II, 118)

A specially interesting passage with both *nī'ma* and *ḥasuna* in parallelism is Q. 18.31 *nī'ma t-tawābu wa-ḥasunāt murtafaqan* "how good is the reward! And it [scil. Paradise] is excellent as a resting-place". At first sight this looks as if 'the reward' is a theme and *nī'ma* is a simple evaluative predicate, without statement of the domain, structured like *ḥasuna*: 18.50 *bi'sa li-z-zālimīna badalan* "how evil is it [scil. taking Iblis instead of Allah as a friend] as an exchange for the wrongdoers". This form is unique in Q, and equally rare in non-Quranic early Arabic, though it becomes commoner later.

However, the grammarians claim that the common early form (*nī'ma t-tawābu*) is elliptical for a full form where *n/b* is followed by two nominals. Since both are nominative, *marfūʿ*, Reckendorf (1921:16-22, §12) calls them 'näheres Subjekt' and 'ferneres Subjekt'. This is a not very helpful terminology ('näheres/ferneres Nominativ' would have been better), since clearly no sentence can have two subjects on a syntactic level with each other; though certainly Arabic has sentence forms like *zaydun 'abūhu kabīru s-sinni* "Z has an elderly father", where Z is the principal theme, having as its predicate the embedded clause which itself consists of a secondary theme 'abū- plus predicate. I suspect that something of this kind may be what Reckendorf had in mind when he wrote (1921:16) the rather perplexing, 'Der Form nach ein Satz, bildet dieser Ausdruck [*n/b* plus 'nearer' nominative] jedoch seiner Bedeutung nach eine attributive Verbindung, die sich zu weiteren Satzteilen verschieden verhält'.

If we understand Reckendorf's 'ferneres Subjekt' as the principal theme of the total sentence, there would be no difficulty in accepting its elision (as claimed by the grammarians); provided that Little Jack Horner has been in the forefront of the thought of the speaker and hearer, it is a linguistic commonplace that elision can delete from the surface structure the allusion to him, and say "What a good boy!" implying "What a good boy he is" [or, of course, if he is the speaker "... am I!"] In this way, one might be inclined to gloss Q. 2.206 *ḥasbuhu ḡahannamu wa-bi'sa l-mihādu* as 'his lot shall be Hell - and what a bad resting-place!'

But when we examine the non-elliptical structures as well as the elliptical ones, a central problem that arises is, in what way does *bi'sa l-mihādu* differ from *bi'sa badalan*? Translators have in fact almost always rendered the two structure identically. Yet they evidently call for some explanation of the contrasts, *rafʿ* versus *naṣb*, and definition by means of the article *versus* indefiniteness. Normally speaking, a nominal predicate is only *marfūʿ* if it is the sole predicative element; as soon as it is subordinated to a verbal modifying element, e.g. *kāna* and its sisters, it becomes *manṣūb*, *huwa faqtiran* → *kāna/āda* etc. *faqtiran*. One might have expected the same

to happen with *n/b*. The grammarians get round this difficulty by assigning to Reckendorf's 'nearer' nominative the status of agent, *fā'il*, of the alleged verb *n/b*, to account for its *raf'*. This would tend to make the structure analogous (in some degree) to *zaydun qad kabura 'abūhu* 'Z has an aged father', where '*abū-*' is certainly a *fā'il*, even though it is not the principal theme of the total sentence, which is Z. The analogy is not quite complete, since the embedded clause normally requires an anaphoric pronoun linking it to the main theme; in the *n/b* structure, the affective inversion (*taqdīm wa-ta'hīr*) with the ordering predicate + theme would mean that a referential pronoun would be cataphoric and not anaphoric, a thing which is strongly disliked in Arabic.

The main residual problem is the *taḥliya* (attachment of the article) of the 'näheres Subjekt'. az-Zamahṣārī says (e.g. in his comment on Q. 72.39) that the article is generic, *lām al-ġins*, a very surprising assertion at first sight. The usual function of the generic article is to mark that one is not speaking of any one specific member of the *ġins*, but every member: *al-īnsānu fānin* 'man is mortal' is equivalent to 'every man (*kullu 'īnsānin*) is mortal'. This is obviously inapplicable to our structures: *bi'sa l-mihādu* does not qualify every 'resting-place' as bad, which would be absurd. But there is a usage of the article which does fit our case: at-Ṭabarī (*Annales* II, 1503 last line) cites a verse containing the expression *al-Burġumīyyu huwa l-la'īmu*: this incorporates the core-message *al-Burġumīyyu la'īmun* 'B is a despicable fellow', but the addition of the article (and the entailed insertion of the *fā'il*) must imply an extra semantic element. What I suggest is that it may imply a 'pre-eminence', *tafāṭṭ*, 'he is the (pre-eminently) despicable fellow (more so than anyone else)', and that it could have been transposed into *bi'sa l-la'īmu l-Burġumīyyu* 'how far the most (pre-eminently) despicable fellow is B'. In this case the epithet is itself a term of dispraise (as with 'what a pig I am' *supra*), but there is little difficulty in seeing a shading-off of the structure into neutral terms. Reckendorf (1921:17, §12.1b.α) cites *nī'ma l-fatā ḥalafun* with the rendering 'welch herrlicher Held [*sic*] ist X', probably rightly, although *fatān* is not an unambiguous praise word, but can also be neutral; similarly, '*innahu nī'ma l-ḥalīfu* "er ist ein trefflicher Freund". An unmistakably neutral term, demanding the categorization as good/bad, is Q. 18.29 *bi'sa š-šarābu* 'the most horrible drink it is!', and another way of expressing the sentiment would be to use the *naṣb al-ta'aġġub* (accusative of surprise), *aš-šarāba s-sayyi'a*!

It has here been contended that the 'remoter nominative' is the principal theme of the whole sentence, which is what Reckendorf (1921:19) says: 'Verbum und näh. Subj. bilden das Prädikativum des fern. Subj.', though in the examples which immediately follow, this principal theme is a pronoun incorporated in an inflection of *kāna*. This merely adds a preterital modification of the basically timeless structure which would have been expressed by an independent pronoun (*nī'ma 'aḥū l'islāmi 'anta > nī'ma 'aḥū l'islāmi kunta*). Similarly with sisters of *kāna*, e.g. Zuhayr Mu'allaqa v. 17 (Arnold 1850:75) *nī'ma s-sayyidāni wuġidumā* 'how much the finest pair of sayyids you were found to be'.

Fronting of the main theme (without theme-predicate inversion) is found in some of the extra-Quranic examples. These instances mostly involve pronouns, presented either as independent pronoun forms, or incorporated in a form of *kāna* etc., or affix-pronoun governed by '*inna*'. Fronting of a substantival theme seems to be relatively rare.

It is a little puzzling that the grammarians fail to identify the 'remoter' nominative as a theme (or even as *fī manzilati l-mubtada'*), but term it *al-maḥṣūṣ bi-l-madhi 'awi ḡ-ḡammi*; this is obviously a correct description, but not a very helpful one, because every predication of a quality 'singles out' the theme for possession of that quality, and applies just as much to the 'nearer' nominative as to the 'remoter' one - the 'domain' is being qualified as good/bad equally with the main theme.

If my memory is not at fault, I was taught by D. S. Margoliouth in 1932 that in the 'canonical' *n/b* structure with double nominative, the remoter one is obligatorily either a proper name *ism 'alam*, or a pronoun *ḡamr*, or a demonstrative *mubham*. This excludes a common noun *ism ḡāt* (both indefinitum and *muḥallan*). Exclusion of the indefinitum is simply part of the general rule that a true indefinitum can never function as theme [provided that one accepts my contention that in *fī waṣṭi l-madīnati ḡaṣrun* the last word is *ḡabar* and not *mubtada'*, despite the grammarians]. Since the *lām at-ta'rif* is semantically similar to a demonstrative, one could envisage that in the *n/b* structure, with its 'affective' note, the demonstrative was preferred. But if it is really true that a generically defined noun does not occur in this position, thus making **ni'ma l-mutaḡakkiru l-fīlu* unacceptable ("how fine a memory has the elephant!"), it would seem odd and inexplicable.

Reckendorf (1921:18) cites one highly anomalous example from Ibn Hišām, in which both positions (nearer and remoter nominative) are occupied by a noun-clause: *bi'sa mā 'abda'u 'islāmī bihi 'an...* "as wäre ein schlechter Anfang meines Islams, daß...". But this is certainly a rarity.

The Quranic statistics

ni'ma:

1/ 'nearer nominative' represented by an *ism muḥallan* and ellipse of 'remoter' nominative, 11 examples (3.173, 8.40 twice, 18.31, 22.78 twice, 37.75, 38.30, 38.44, 51.48, 77.23)

2/ 'nearer nominative' represented by a *mudāf* to an *ism muḥallan* and ellipse of a remoter nominative, 5 examples (3.136, 13.24, 16.30, 29.58, 39.74)

3/ followed simply by a *mā* clause, 2 examples (2.271, 4.58)

bi'sa:

1/ 'nearer nominative' represented by an *ism muḥallan* and ellipse of 'remoter' nominative', 22 examples (2.126, 2.206, 3.12, 3.162, 3.197, 8.16, 9.73, 13.18, 14.29, 18.29, 22.13 twice, 22.72, 24.57, 38.56, 38.60, 43.38, 57.15, 58.8, 64.10, 66.9, 67.6 [but note two further examples 11.98, 99 b. *al-wird al-mawrūd et sim*, where the last word is probably adjectival and not a 'remoter' nominative].

2/ 'nearer' nominative represented by a *mudāf* to an *ism muḥallan*, 5 examples (3.151, 16.29, 39.72, 40.76, 62.5)

3/ followed simply by a *mā* clause, 9 examples (2.102, 3.187, 5.62, 5.63, 5.79, 5.80, 2.90, 2.93, 7.150)

4/ non-elliptical form with two explicit nominatives, 1 example (49.11)

5/ anomalous (for the Qur'ān) form with accusative specification, discussed above, once only (18.50).

ADDENDA

In the discussion following the presentation of this paper, several colleagues made valuable observations. N. Kinberg pointed out that al-Farrā' does in fact describe the 'remoter nominative' as a subject, as Reckendorf does. M.G. Carter further remarked that the general linguistic principle, that in equative sentences the predicate term is necessarily less defined than the subject, affords justification both for the restriction of the 'remoter nominative' to proper name, pronoun or demonstrative (all having a high degree of definition), and for the description of the article in the 'nearer nominative' as generic, which has a lower degree. R. Talmon was inclined to question the propriety of dissecting 'is a good boy' into two categorizing predicates, instead of a single sub-categorizing one; here I must say that this dissection is needed if one wishes to add an affective overtone to the goodness, rather than to the good-boyishness of the subject, and further that (in my view) every attributive adjective is in fact a predicate, albeit one subordinated to the main predicate (e.g. "they sat down on the green grass" = "they sat down on the grass, which was [at that time] green [and not dry]"). A. Roman remarked that the feminine marker in *nīmat* / *bi'sat* could be seen as having some analogy with the marker in the vocative particle *'ayyatuḥā*.

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A PROPOS DE L'ÉDITION DU *KITĀB AL-'UṢŪL*: L'ACCÈS AUX TEXTES

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Dans une communication présentée au deuxième colloque sur l'histoire de la grammaire arabe, Nimègue 1987, et publiée dans les actes de ce colloque en 1990, Geneviève Humbert avait tenté de semer le doute dans les esprits à propos de la qualité des éditions du *Kitāb* de Sībawayhi. J'aimerais étendre cette suspicion à un ouvrage plus récent, mais qui joua un grand rôle dans le développement de la tradition grammaticale arabe, étant lui-même une relecture du *Kitāb* et une réorganisation du domaine grammatical, je veux dire le *Kitāb al-'uṣūl* d'Ibn as-Sarrāğ (voir Bohas, Guillaume et Kouloughli 1990). Je me suis fondé, dans ma relecture, sur le manuscrit de Rabat (désormais R) qui est, à en juger par la pagination interne qui figure dans les éditions, celui qui a été retenu comme *'aṣl* par l'éditeur.

Le livre a fait l'objet de deux éditions, par le docteur 'Abdalḥusayn al-Faṭlī, l'une en 1973 et l'autre en 1985. Cette dernière étant visiblement la fille de la première, au point que dans les notes de cette deuxième édition, dont la pagination n'est évidemment pas identique à la première, les renvois de pages sont, vous vous en êtes certainement aperçus, ceux de la première édition ; sans doute est-ce là un moyen élégant auquel a recouru la seconde maison d'édition pour encourager les chercheurs à se procurer également l'édition précédente.

Concernant plus particulièrement la deuxième édition, je passe sur toutes les négligences qu'elle contient: *hamzat al-qaṭ'* dans les cas où il n'en faut pas, distribution hasardeuse des guillemets, des points (.) des deux points (:) et des virgules (Dieu merci, notre éditeur semble ignorer le point et virgule), distribution hasardeuse qui aboutit très souvent à une leçon erronée ou met le lecteur sur une fausse piste. Enfin, on peut toujours se consoler en se disant que tous ces signes, qui, dans cette édition, ne semblent jouer qu'un rôle décoratif, n'étaient pas présents dans le texte d'origine... mais le lecteur doit être prévenu: il vaut mieux faire comme s'ils n'existaient pas. De même, on passera sur les innombrables *'a'lamta* pour *'a'malta*, *'idā* pour *'idā* et réciproquement, les *humā* pour les *hā* et réciproquement, les *'anna* pour les *'inna* et réciproquement, les *'alif maqṣūra* pour les *yā* et réciproquement, les *kāna* pour *ka'anna* ou réciproquement (ce qui change radicalement le sens, évidemment) et *qatala* pour *qulta*. Bien sûr, de temps à autre on redistribuera les *tanwīn*, le -un pour le -an ou le -in, ou réciproquement, et lorsqu'il s'agit d'un verbe, on lira *ā*, marque du duel, et non ce qui est le plus souvent écrit, à savoir le -an du *tanwīn*. Quand un verset du Coran est cité, on aura intérêt à

retrouver le texte pour restituer les points et les voyelles, par exemple (II. 168,17) sous le:¹

fa-'idā nufiḥa fī ṣ-ṣūri naṣḥatan wāḥidatun

on aura reconnu le

fa-'idā nufiḥa fī ṣ-ṣūri naṣḥatun wāḥidatun

habituel (Q. 69,13). Enfin, on remettra 'Amr à la place de 'Umar dans les exemples classiques des grammairiens: le héros principal (avec Zayd) de notre roman est toujours le même.

Bien évidemment, dans tous ces cas, les spécialistes que vous êtes restituent la bonne lecture sans problème, mais il est des cas beaucoup moins évidents. Je distinguerai:

- 1) Simples erreurs de lecture
- 2) Petites omissions, grandes conséquences
- 3) Modifications erronées et épenthèses diverses
- 4) Sauts du même au même.

Pour chaque classe, je me contenterai de cinq ou six exemples particulièrement significatifs, renvoyant le spécialiste intéressé à mes articles (Bohas et Barakat 1991 et Bohas à paraître).

1. Simples erreurs de lecture

1.1

'Uṣūl 1973:60 / 'Uṣūl 1985:56.14: à la place de: *wa-ḡama'tuhu ḡam'an yaḥḍuruhu* qui est ininterprétable ici, on lira avec R: *yaḥṣiruhu*.

Ce qui donne: *wa-ḡama'tuhu [ʿayy an-naḥw] ḡam'an yaḥṣiruhu wa-faṣṣaltuhu taḥṣīlan yuḥṣiruhu*.

1.2

'Uṣūl 1973:69 / 'Uṣūl 1985:63.18: L'édition: *al-bay' fī n-nahār*. Cet exemple est très curieux, vu qu'il est question de: *aḏ-ḏarf fī l-'amākin*! Je lis au contraire dans R: *al-bay' fī d-dār*.

1.3

'Uṣūl 1973:88 / 'Uṣūl 1985:78.14 et 17 et 18: puisqu'il est explicitement question du *ism al-maḥṣūl*, on se demandera pourquoi l'éditeur a lu *muḥṭin* et non *muḥṭan* comme dans R? Plus précisément, dans R ce ى est écrit: ى ; ce qui est le cas ordinairement dans ce manuscrit et la présence du *tanwīn fatha* ne laisse place à aucune ambiguïté.

1.4

'Uṣūl 1973:92 / 'Uṣūl 1985:81.15: L'édition: *fa-qālū 'unḥat an-nāqa*. Je lis dans R: *nutiḡat an-nāqa* ce qui me semble la bonne lecture car il est question ici des verbes qui sont toujours au passif ce qui est le cas de *nutiḡat* au sens de *waladat*. L'erreur

¹ Je ne donne les numéros de ligne que pour la deuxième édition (= 'Uṣūl, 1985).

de l'éditeur pourrait venir du fait qu'il a pris le 'alif final ى de *qālū* pour un ʾ initial, quitte à rajouter ensuite un ى et à effectuer les changements nécessaires: $g \rightarrow h$ et $t \rightarrow y$ (curieux procédé!).

1.5

'Uṣūl 1973:115 / 'Uṣūl 1985:99.11: La lecture *li-'anna fī'l at-ta'aḡḡib 'innamā yakūnu mafūlan min banāt at-talāṭa faqat* n'offre aucun sens. On lira, comme dans R: *li-'anna fī'l at-ta'aḡḡib 'innamā yakūnu manqūlan min banātī t-talāṭa faqat* d'autant plus que trois lignes plus bas on trouve: *fa-tanquluhi min fa'ala 'aw fa'ila 'aw fa'ula*.

1.6

'Uṣūl 1973:315 / 'Uṣūl 1985:260.4: *'inna zaydan huwa l-miskīnu marḡūm* Certes, Satan est le Lapidé, mais pour ce pauvre Zayd, on se contentera de *marḡūm* (comme dans R)! L'éditeur objectera peut-être que sous le ى il y a dans R un petit trait: ى ; notre réponse est que ce trait est précisément le signe du *ḥā'* ; il suffit de retourner à 289 de R (et à tous les cas analogues), pour retrouver le même signe sous: *ḥāl, muwaḥḥada, at-tawḥīd*. Dans tous les cas de ce type, le lecteur averti, avec un peu de réflexion, arrivera à corriger le texte, tant l'incongruité saute aux yeux. Mais pour les étudiants, ou les coeurs simples, qui n'ont pas de raison a priori de douter de l'autorité d'un texte imprimé, la lecture est reçue, le plus souvent, sans rechigner.

2. Petites omissions, grandes conséquences

2.1

'Uṣūl 1973:64 / 'Uṣūl 1985:59.13: L'édition porte: *wa-mā lam yufīd fa-lā ma'nā lahu fī kalām gayrihim* ce qui est très curieux comme argument, mais qui s'éclaire par R que j'adopte: *fa-lā ma'nā lahu fī kalām al-'arab wa-lā fī kalām gayrihim*.

2.2

'Uṣūl 1973:153 / 'Uṣūl 1985:129.20: Il est question du *ism al-fā'il* et on lit: *wa-'in kāna qad fa'ala fa-'adaftahu 'ilā ma'rifa wa-'in 'adaftahu 'ilā nakira fa-huwa nakira*, qui n'est pas interprétable, c'est qu'il manque deux mots: *fa-'adaftahu 'ilā ma'rifa fa-huwa ma'rifa wa-'in 'adaftahu 'ilā nakira fa-huwa nakira*.

2.3

'Uṣūl 1973:248 / 'Uṣūl 1985:206.2: On trouve dans l'édition: *wa-taqīlu fī d-dār 'abduḥ al-qā'imān, fa-tu'īdu "fīhā" tawkiḍan*. Comme *fīhā* n'a pas été mentionné précédemment, on ne voit pas très bien où est la répétition. Il suffit de suivre R: *wa-taqīlu "fī d-dār 'abduḥ al-qā'imān fīhā" fa-tu'īdu "fīhā" tawkiḍan*.

2.4

'Uṣūl 1973:304 / 'Uṣūl 1985:250.16: *wa-"lā bal" taḡrī maḡrā l-wāw, wa-lā taqīl...* La ponctuation fantaisiste amène à perturber complètement le texte. On lira comme dans R: *wa-"lā bal" taḡrī maḡrā "l-wāw wa-lā". wa-taqīl...*

2.5

'Uṣūl 1973:481 / 'Uṣūl 1985:394.8: f'lam: 'anna hādā yalzamuka fīhi taṭniyat "lā"... Il manque le petit détail qui change tout et que l'on trouve aussi bien dans R que dans Sībawayhi *Kitāb* I,356 qu'Ibn as-Sarrāğ résume, détail qui permet de comprendre le texte: f'lam 'anna hādā lā yalzamuka fīhi taṭniyat "lā" kamā lā tuṭannī "lā" fī l-'afāl.

3. Modifications malencontreuses et interprétations curieuses

3.1

'Uṣūl 1973:364 / 'Uṣūl 1985:298.2: L'édition: *min qibali 'annahu ḥaṭa' 'an taḥmila...* On trouve dans R: *min qibali 'annahu ḥalf' 'an taḥmila...* L'éditeur a pris sur lui de substituer *ḥaṭa'* à *ḥalf*, avouant ainsi qu'il ignore l'existence et le sens de *ḥalf*: *ar-radī' min al-qawl*, et le fait qu'il est, dans cette acception, attesté dans le *Kitāb* de Sībawayhi.²

3.2

'Uṣūl 1973:388 / 'Uṣūl 1985:319.10-11: L'édition: *wa-'idā faṣṣalta bayna kam wa-bayna l-ism wa-bi-ṣay'*. Il faut évidemment, et en suivant R, effacer le *wāw* et lire: *wa-'idā faṣṣalta bayna kam wa-bayna l-ism bi-ṣay'*.

3.3

'Uṣūl 1973:415 / 'Uṣūl 1985:340.11: Ici encore, l'éditeur a pris sur lui de modifier le texte, enlevant à nouveau le petit détail qui change tout: au lieu de *kamā taḥbutu*, on suivra R: *kamā lam yaḥbut*. Ce qui donne un texte cohérent: *lā taḥbutu yā' al-'idāfa kamā lam yaḥbut at-tanwīn fī l-mufrad*.

3.4

'Uṣūl 1973:441 / 'Uṣūl 1985:362: Les lignes 2 à 6 constituent sans doute un des meilleurs exemples de ce que ne doit pas être une édition de texte. On sait qu'il existe en arabe deux verbes de sens voisin: *dağana* (connu de l'éditeur) et *rağana* qui signifie, selon *al-Mu'ğam al-Wasīl*: en parlant d'un animal *'alifa l-bayta*, de là, la note (3) de Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I,330): *yūqāl šātun rāğin: muqīma fī l-bayt*. Notre éditeur n'a, apparemment, pas pris la peine de consulter, ne serait-ce qu'un dictionnaire élémentaire. Il a bien lu *urğunf* (la graphie de R est tellement claire qu'il est difficile de lire autre chose!) mais ne connaissant pas ce terme, il rédige aussitôt la note 1 où il explique à son lecteur amusé qu'il faut, malgré tout, lire *udğunf*. Hélas, Ibn as-Sarrāğ a pris soin de mentionner explicitement le *ar-rā'* comme constituant la première consonne de ce mot. Impavide, l'éditeur transcrit *rā'*, sans se rendre compte qu'il abolit ainsi sa note 1 et sa propre lecture, pour donner cette phrase sibylline: *fa-ltaqat al-'alif wa-hiya sākina ma'a r-rā' min idğunf* (ligne 5). En résumé, on suivra R et Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 330) et, dans tous les cas on lira RJN et particulièrement à la ligne 5, qui sera, tout simplement: *fa-ltaqat al-'alif wa-hiya sākina ma'a r-rā' min irğunf*.

² Cf. Troupeau (1976:85).

3.5

'Uṣūl 1973:455 / 'Uṣūl 1985:374.2-3: Le texte édité est le suivant: *wa-law sammaytahu sufayriḡ lam yaḡuz 'an taqūla fīhi: safarḡal wa-(i)smuhu sufayriḡ*. L'éditeur a pris sur lui de modifier discrètement le texte, montrant qu'il n'a pas saisi le point subtil en cause ici. Je lis dans R: *wa-law sammaytahu sufayriḡ lam yaḡuz 'an taqūla fī (i)smihi sufayriḡ li-'annaka...* Et le texte n'a pas à être modifié, car le sens est que, pour un nom propre, les deux diminutifs, avec ou sans *f* (*sufayriḡ* et *sufayriḡ*) ne sont pas interchangeables ; lecture qui est, de plus, confortée par les lignes qui suivent où Ibn as-Sarrāḡ tient le même propos concernant les deux diminutifs *furayzid* et *furayziq* d'un autre nom propre: Farazdaq.

Bref, dans tous ces cas, même le spécialiste est embarrassé pour comprendre et, éventuellement, restituer. Dans les derniers cas, à savoir, les sauts du même au même, cela n'est plus possible et, sans consultation du manuscrit, l'interprétation du texte lui échappera totalement.

4. Sauts du même au même

Les exemples sont tellement évidents qu'il n'y a pas grand chose à glosier à leur sujet, il suffit de comparer l'édition et le manuscrit, en soulignant les passages omis.

4.1

'Uṣūl 1973:354 / 'Uṣūl 1985:290.5: L'édition: *fa-min hāhunā taṣābahā. taqūl: mā qāma 'aḥad 'illā zayd fa-zayd qad qāma wa-yufarriq baynahumā 'anna...* Où gît la différence, s'il n'y a qu'un terme ? Le texte dans R: *fa-min hāhunā taṣābahā. taqūl: mā qāma 'aḥadūn 'illā zaydun fa-zayd qad qāma wa-taqūl: mā qāma 'aḥad lākin zaydun fa-zayd qad qāma wa-yufarriq baynahumā 'anna...*

4.2

'Uṣūl 1973:388 / 'Uṣūl 1985:319.9: L'édition: *fa-'idā rafa'ta fa-'innamā l-ma'nā...* Le texte dans R: *fa-'idā rafa'ta fa-lasta turfdu t-tamyīz. fa-'idā qulta kam dirhamun 'indaka fa-rafa'ta fa-'innamā l-ma'nā...*

4.3

'Uṣūl 1973:392 / 'Uṣūl 1985:322.16-17: L'édition: *wa-taqūlu: kam raḡul qad ra'aytuhu 'afdal min zayd, li-'annaka ḡa'alta "'afdal" ḡabaran 'an "kam" li-'anna "kam" ism muḡtada*. Le texte dans R: *wa-taqūlu kam raḡulin qad ra'aytuhu 'afḡala min zaydin. 'in ḡa'alta "qad ra'aytuhu" min na't raḡul qulta "'afḡalu min zaydin" li-'annaka ḡa'alta 'afḡal ḡabaran 'an kam li-'anna kam ism muḡtada*.

4.4

'Uṣūl 1985:392.7-8: L'édition: ... *fa-yanbaḡī 'an yaqūla: lā raḡul laka wa-'aḡan lahu* R: *fa-yanbaḡī 'an taqūla lā raḡul laka wa-'aḡāhu ka-'annahu qāla lā raḡul laka wa-'aḡan lahu*

Il est à noter que dans la première édition le texte de R est correctement transcrit, ce qui montre bien que, contrairement à l'habitude qui veut que la seconde édition soit corrigée et considérablement augmentée, dans le cas présent, la seconde édition est simplement un peu plus fautive que la première.

4.5

'Uṣūl 1973:522 / 'Uṣūl 1985:428.22-23: L'édition ne manquera pas de laisser le lecteur, même spécialiste, perplexe: *wa-qāla: taqīlu: kull al-qawm ḥattā 'ahika wa-huwa l-'ān gāya*. Le texte de R est pourtant clair: *wa-qāla: taqīl: kull al-qawm ḥattā 'ahika 'atawnī garrun li-'annaka 'aradta kull al-qawm 'atawnī ḥattā 'ahika wa-huwa l-'ān gāya*.

Conclusion

Dans cette brève communication, je n'ai cité que quelques cas, et pas les plus tragiques, hélas. La conclusion, ne peut être que la suivante: à titre personnel, lorsque je trouve dans ce texte, un passage qui me paraît original, curieux ou ininterprétable, la première hypothèse que je puisse formuler est qu'il s'agit tout simplement d'une erreur d'édition. Je ne pense pas que sur des bases aussi faibles on puisse aller très loin dans l'interprétation fine d'un texte et qu'il est indispensable de retourner au manuscrit.

De là, on peut passer à une typologie sommaire des éditions de textes des Grammairiens et Rhétoriciens. Le genre massacre à la tronçonneuse n'est pas seulement illustré par l'édition du *Kitāb al-'uṣūl* dont nous venons de parler, le *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*, réédité par Na'im Zarzūr en 1983 est exactement du même type, au point que l'on peut se demander parfois si l'éditeur a compris quelque chose dans le texte qu'il se proposait d'éditer. Je suis certain que chacun d'entre vous pourrait allonger cette liste de ses propres trouvailles.

A côté des textes massacrés, il faut parler des éditions périmées et, dans ce genre, le *Kitāb* de Sībawayhi est sans doute l'exemple type. L'édition de Derenbourg qui a servi de mère aux éditions ultérieures était fondée sur un nombre très restreint de manuscrits. L'illustre savant n'a jamais eu à sa disposition plus de quatre manuscrits par tome; de plus, il s'appuyait essentiellement sur le manuscrit de Paris, le prenant "pour fondement de son édition", croyant qu'il se "rapprochait maximale-ment de l'original" et estimant "qu'il paraît plausible de fixer à la première moitié du VIII^{ème} siècle de l'Hégire (soit au milieu du XIV^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne) la confection de cet exemplaire". L'analyse à laquelle a procédé G. Humbert a permis d'établir que le manuscrit est en fait très tardif et qu'il n'est pas antérieur au XVIII^{ème} siècle. Actuellement, on peut estimer le nombre des manuscrits du *Kitāb* à une centaine; sur cette centaine 78 ont été repérés par G. Humbert et les sondages opérés sur ces manuscrits amènent à la certitude que l'édition de ce texte n'est absolument plus fiable. Donc...

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THE READING OF Q. 5.60

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Commenting on Q. 90.12ff: *wa-mā 'adrāka mā l-'aqabatu * fakku raqabatin * 'aw 'iḥāmūn fī yawmin dī masgabatin * yatūnan dā maqrabatin * 'aw miskīnan dā matrabatin * ṭumma kāna minna lladīna 'āmanū...*, at-Ṭabarī weighed the merits of two readings reported in the literature (Ġāmī XXX, 111.).

Some of the Makkans and, according to Ibn 'Abī Ishāq, the generality of the Basrans and, among the Kufans, al-Kisā'ī read: *fakka raqabatan 'aw 'aḥama. at-Ṭabarī* had heard that 'Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' had alleged the verbality of the sentence: *ṭumma kāna minna lladīna 'āmanū*, in favour of reading: *fakka raqabatan 'aw 'aḥama*, as a verb sentence, as though he regarded it as the continuation of the sense of [Q. 90.11]: *fa-lā qahama l-'aqabata * wa-mā 'adrāka mā l-'aqabatu * [fa-lā] fakka raqabatan * wa-[lā] 'aḥama... ṭumma kāna minna lladīna 'āmanū...*

Most of the Madinese, the Kufans and the Syrians read: *fakku raqabatin*, as an *iḍāfa* and both *fakku* and *'iḥāmūn* as *maṣḍars*.

According to at-Ṭabarī, the correct view is that these are two well-known readings, each of which had been adopted by men learned in *qirā'a* and *ta'wīl*. Whichever of the two a Reader elected to use would provide an acceptable text. If he recited it as verbal, the meaning would be: *fa-lā qahama l-'aqabata; lā fakka wa-lā 'aḥama; ṭumma kāna*. This is the better of the two readings in terms of the 'arabiyya, since *'iḥām* is a noun, but *kāna* is a verb and the Arabs prefer to link noun with noun and verb with verb. Had the verse been revealed: *ṭumma 'an kāna*, that would have been even better. *'an kāna*, equalling *kawnu-hu*, is more congruent with *fakku* and *'iḥāmu*, as linking noun with noun. The verbs *fakka* and *'aḥama* are more correct in terms of the 'arabiyya than their nouns, although reading them as *maṣḍars* and reading *kāna* follows a good recognised usage of intending, without expressing the 'an: *In 'alā 'ayyuhāddā z-zāghīrī 'ahḍura l-waḡā, Ṭarafa* meant 'an *ahḍura*. What justifies the *ta'wīl* is that the line continues: *wa-'an 'aṣhada l-laddāt. Wa-'an* shows that it was his intention to join a preceding 'an to a following 'an, but without expressing the first 'an. Applying this *ta'wīl* to the verse makes *kāna* a *maṣḍar*, and so a noun joined to a noun.

at-Ṭabarī constantly boasts his uncomplaining adherence to the readings reported as from the authoritative experts in the two fields of *qirā'a* and *ta'wīl*, whether a single reading has been transmitted as unanimously accepted by all the experts, or, as here, more than one reading has been acknowledged as 'well-known' among the experts of the different Islamic centres. He requires this loyalty also from every Muslim. Nevertheless, he expresses an extremely reluctant and unenthusiastic attitude towards just such readings in the case of Q. 5.60: *qul hal 'unabbi'ukum bi-šarrin min dālika maṭṭabatan 'inda llāhi - man la'ana-hu llāhu wa-ḡadība 'alay-hi wa-ḡā'ala min-humu l-qirada wa-l-ḥanāzīr wa-'abada t-tāḡūta*.

The readers are at variance on how to vowel this:¹ *Ḥiğāzīs*, Syrians, Basrans and some of the Kufans read it as vowelled here: *wa-ʿabada t-tāğūta*. The *taʿwīl* must, in aṭ-Ṭabarī's view, be: *wa-[man] ʿabada t-tāğūta*. Here *ʿabada* represents *ʿābidan*, and is treated as a preterite verb. The verb is the *ṣila* of the unexpressed relative *man*. With *tagdīr* of the *man*, noun is now linked with noun. A number of the Kufans, however, read: *wa-ʿabuda t-tāğūti*. In this *ʿidāfa*, *ʿabuda* means *ḥadam*, worshippers. An *ʿisnād* traces this reading to Ḥamza and Yaḥyā b. Waṭṭāb, while a second *ʿisnād* refers it to al-ʿAʿmaš (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ġāmīʿ*/ed. Šākir X, 439-40). At this point, aṭ-Ṭabarī refers to al-Farrāʾ, but it is preferable that we consult al-Farrāʾ's comment direct (*Maʿānī*, I, 314). We note immediately the assumption that *wa-ʿabada* is joined by its *wāw* to *wa-ḡaʿala min-humu l-qirada*, by means of the intended, but unexpressed relative *man*. Support for this verbal reading is found in the attribution to both *ʿAbdallāh* and *Ubayy* of: *wa-ʿabadū t-tāğūta*. Unaccountably, the partisans of *ʿAbdallāh* are now reported as reading: *wa-ʿabuda t-tāğūti* as *ʿidāfa*, which al-Farrāʾ explains as representing in meaning *ḥadama*, worshippers, and in form, a noun of plurality rather than a plural form of noun.

A second group, intending annexation also, read *ʿubuda*, on the pattern of the plural of the plural, as in *ʿimār/umūr*, thus *ʿibād/ʿubud*. al-Farrāʾ seems to regard a third reading, although similar in *taʿwīl* to the reading attributed to the Companions of *ʿAbdallāh*, as hypothetical. Were anyone to recite: *wa-ʿabada t-tāğūti*, in the *ʿidāfa*, and intending the apocopated form of the plural *ʿabada^{mn}*, that would be a correct reading, for the poet truncated *wulāh* to *wulā* in: *qāma wulā-hā fa-saqaw-hā ṣarḥadan*. He is less certain, however, about the reading: *wa-ʿabuda t-tāğūti*; if there is an alternative pronunciation, as in the case of *ḥaḍīr/ḥaḍūr*, *ʿaḡīl/ʿaḡul*, this reading might be justified. The noun *ʿabd* is viewed as in origin adjectival and so as retaining adjectival status in regard to the availability of certain patterns, including plural formations. But, if this reading is intended to imitate the line of ʿAws b. Ḥaḡar, *ʿa-banī lubayna ʿinna ʿummakum * ʿamatun wa-ʿinna ʿabākum ʿabudun*, that would be quite unacceptable as a Qurʾān reading. The poet was constrained by considerations of rhyme, the preceding line ending in *ʿaḥadun*.²

According to aṭ-Ṭabarī, ʿAbū Ġaʿfar read *ʿubida t-tāğūti*, but that is dismissed as 'meaningless'. God had apparently denounced a group for worshipping *tāğūt*. To follow that by stating that the *tāğūt* had been an object of worship would be irrelevant and out of keeping with both the opening and the closing of this verse (*Ġāmīʿ*/ed. Šākir X, 440).³

Burayda read: *wa-ʿābida t-tāğūti*. Were that to have been *wa-ʿabada t-tāğūti*, it would have been sound as to the *ʿarabiyya*, although aṭ-Ṭabarī would not accept it as a reading, since it is at variance with the reading of the authoritative Reciters. In terms of its *ʿarabiyya*, it can be explained as an apocopated form of *ʿabada^{mn}*, a plural of *ʿābid*, with the *hā* elided in deference to the *ʿidāfa* (*Ġāmīʿ*/ed. Šākir X, 441). aṭ-Ṭabarī himself deployed this very explanation in his comment on Q. 30.3: *wa-hum min baʿdi ḡalbi-him*; that is, *min baʿdi ḡalbatihim*. The word is a *maṣḍar*. One says

¹ See aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ġāmīʿ*/ed. Šākir X, 439.

² i.e. a modification of *ʿabd* for reasons of metre/rhyme.

³ The text has Abū Ġaʿfar, al-Qāṣiri and Abū Ġaʿfar, an-Naḥwī, in a second *ʿisnād*.

galba, but here, the *hā'* is elided, on account of the *'idāfa*, much as happens also in the expression *'iqāmu ṣ-ṣalāt*, for *'iqāmatu ṣ-ṣalāt* (*Ġāmī'* XXI, 14).

aṭ-Ṭabarī insists on restricting the choice of reading to one of the two versions adopted by the recognised reciters: *'abada ṭ-ṭāghūta* or *'abuda ṭ-ṭāghūti*. These are to be preferred to other versions even more correct as to their *'arabiyya*, and of the two, the more correct is the first in which the verb *'abada* is to be taken to be the complement, *ṣila*, of the intended, but unexpressed relative, *man*. That the *man* is, indeed intended, is shown by the reading that is attributed to Ubayy and 'Abdallāh, *wa-'abadū ṭ-ṭāghūta*, for that represents *wa-llaḏīna 'abadū*. The accusative in *ṭāghūta* is to be preferred, as governed by *'abada*, since the other form, *'abuda*, is not common among the Arabs nor is it familiar in their language (*Ġāmī'*/ed. Šakir X, 442).

The linguists denied any grammatical regimen to any relative, *man* or *allaḏī*, supposedly suppressed following the prepositions *min* or *ff*. To permit such grammatical regimen was regarded as a serious error, an impermissible solecism and, indeed, some considered it such bad Arabic that they would simply not allow it. In consequence, they preferred to read *wa-'abuda ṭ-ṭāghūti* (*Ġāmī'*/ed. Šakir X, 442). That is a perfectly clear statement of the role of syntactic thinking in the choice of a Qur'ān reading. The language of the Qur'ān must be made to conform to the ideas of the grammarians.

Other linguistic scholars permitted grammatical regimen in the conditions described, although only reluctantly, for they deplored it as unchaste Arabic. In aṭ-Ṭabarī's view, they ought therefore to have been consistent and denounced it for use in Qur'ān recitation. They claimed to deplore it in everyday speech, yet they permitted precisely that unchaste Arabic in their own renderings of the sacred texts. They regarded *man*, although suppressed following *min*, as accusative, object of *ḡa'ala* (*Ġāmī'*/ed. Šakir X, 442).

In relation to the problem of the reading of this verse, aṭ-Ṭabarī comes as close as he ever came to questioning the *'iḡmā'*. If he could bring himself to reject something in which the scholarly community was agreed, he would have preferred to adopt a reading different from these two readings which he has here discussed (*Ġāmī'*/ed. Šakir X, 442). But what is widespread and accepted by the Muslims without any disagreement, may not be abandoned in favour of anything else. For that reason alone, aṭ-Ṭabarī will not permit any Muslim to suggest any other reading than one of these two which he has described as transmitted and accepted by the Muslims.

'iḡmā' has thus triumphed over *iḥtiyār*.

It is not easy to locate a detailed discussion of the issues at question here in Q. 5,60, but the succinct statement by Ibn Ya'īṣ (*Šarḥ* III, 77) is sufficiently clear: A noun may not be joined to a verb, since the object of *'aṭf* is to share in the work exerted by the *'āmil*, and the governing factors operating on verbs are not those which operate on nouns.

The classical Readers and grammarians were constrained to operate on the basis of the bare consonantal ductus provided in the *muṣḥaf*. The skeletal framework lacked zero-vowel, short-vowel and long 'a' vowel marking and indication of consonant length. Providing these features were taken into account, the huge battery of patterns that generations of avid collection of linguistic forms had placed at the disposal of the scholars could be applied to the Qur'ān texts as long as the rules agreed among the syntacticists were not breached in proposing resolutions of the

rudimentary texts. In these activities, a written text, as opposed to a transmitted oral tradition is the foremost object of scholarly amelioration.

With these limits in mind, one could suggest for the key term of Q. 5.60 innumerable possibilities:

'*abada*'; '*abuda*'; '*ubada*'; '*ubuda*'; '*ubida*'; '*ubbada*'; '*ubbāda*'; '*ābida*'; '*ibāda*'; '*abada*^{am}'; '*abada*'; '*abda*'; '*ubda*'; The following patterns do not satisfy the restrictions: '*abadī*'; '*ābidī*'; '*ābidī*'; '*abīdī*'; '*a'būd*'; '*ubīdat*'.

We have noted how the hypothetical reference to a relative *man*, intended, but not verbally expressed in the verse, has been projected as an ancient reading attributed to one of the Companions, while the reading of a second Companion was cited to confirm the verbal nature of the outline '*abada*'.

az-Zamaḥṣarī offers an explanation of '*abuda*' as a verbal form. The term means: 'became the object of worship', as '*amura*' means, 'became a commander, an *'amīr*'. The suggestion might tend to imply that *aṭ-ṭāghūtū* might have to be read as a nominative. The same word, '*abuda*', could also be a noun form, derived from an adjectival sense, the pattern *fa'ulun* being used to denote the excessive possession of a quality, as *faḡunūn*, *haḡunūn* mean respectively, 'showing a high degree of intelligence, of caution'. Those spoken of in this verse carried their submission to *ṭāghūt* to excessive lengths. The form '*ubada*' could also be adjectival, formed after the measure of *ḡuṭamun*. The form '*abada*^{am}' is a plural of '*ābid*', as *kafara* is of *kāfir*. Eliding the *hā*', in deference to the '*idāfa*', would give '*abada*', or '*abada*' might be a noun of plurality, on the pattern of *ḡadam*, the plural of *ḡādīm* (az-Zamaḥṣarī, *Kaṣṣāf*, I, 469)⁴.

To these notes, ar-Rāzī (*Tafsīr* XII, 36-7) adds that some regarded '*abd*' and '*abud*' as permitted variant pronunciations; others argued that '*abud*' derived from the plural form '*ubud*' by vowel-dissociation. It has also been held that '*abud*' might have derived from '*a'būd*', by elimination of the initial *hamza* and relocation of its vowel. Finally, '*abud*' may have been derived from '*abada*^{am}', the plural form. After elision of the *hā*', in deference of the '*idāfa*', the middle vowel was altered in order to distinguish the noun form from the verb form.

al-Qurṭubī attributes a plurality of readings to Ibn 'Abbās. '*ubuda*' may be a plural of '*abd*', as *ruhun* is of *rahn* and *suquf* is of *saqf*; or '*ubud*' could be the plural of '*ibād*', as *ḡunur* is of *ḡimār*, or of '*ābid*', as *buzul* is of *bāzil*, or of '*abīd*', as *riḡuf* is of *raḡīf*.

Ibn 'Abbās is also reported as having read '*ubbad*', which is plural of '*ābid*', as *ṣuḡhad* is of *ṣāhid* and *ḡuyyab* is of *ḡā'ib*. His reading '*ubbād*' is plural of '*ābid*', as '*ummāl*' is of '*āmil*' and *durrāb* is of *dārib*. This reading was attributed to 'Abū Wāqid. The Basrans read '*ibād*', while 'Amr al-'Uqaylī and Ibn Burayda both read '*ābid*'.

The reading '*abadī*', attributed by az-Zamaḥṣarī to both Ubayy and 'Abdallāh, is repeated by ar-Rāzī and al-Qurṭubī who, however, also cites for 'Abdallāh the additional reading, '*ubada*', on the pattern of *ḡuṭamun* and, for Ubayy, the additional reading of '*ubīdat* *iṭ-ṭāghūtū*'. He attributes to Ubayd b. 'Umayr the reading '*a'būd*' (*ḡāmir* VI, 235).

al-Qurṭubī cites a total of twelve possible readings. ar-Rāzī, like az-Zamaḥṣarī, had listed seventeen, while 'Abū Ḥayyān can amass no fewer than twenty-two read-

⁴ But, Ibn Manẓūr *Lisān*, sub voce '*abd*', questions the reports on certain of these readings.

ings which he organises into neat categories. There are six preterite verb forms: 'abada; 'abadū; 'abda; 'abuda; 'ubida; 'ubidat. Eight broken plural noun forms: 'abada^{nm}; 'abada; 'a'buda; 'abīda; 'ibāda; 'ubbada; 'ubbāda; 'ubuda. Two sound plural forms: 'ābidū; 'ābidī. Four singular noun forms used generically: 'abuda; 'ubada; 'abd; 'ābid (of which two differing *ta'wīl*s are offered) (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Baḥr* III, 519-20).

According to 'Abū Ḥayyān, the Seven read *wa-'abada ṭ-ṭāgūla*. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī read this also, although he is further reported as having read 'abda, alleged by Ibn 'Aṭīya to show what he calls 'reduction' of the *tanwīn* of 'abdan before the article. 'Abū Ḥayyān curtly dismisses that *ta'wīl* on the grounds that a noun form which is neither *maṣdar* nor agent, could never produce an accusative in *ṭāgūla*. al-Ḥasan's 'abda should rather be seen as a 'lightening' of 'abada. The reading reported from 'Abdallāh, 'abuda, resembling *ṣarufa*, may be interpreted 'became a worshipper', whereas az-Zamaḥṣārī had interpreted it to mean 'became an object of worship'.

an-Naḥāṭī, Ibn al-Qa'qā' and, according to Hārūn, al-'A'maṣ also, read 'ubida, which, however, 'Abdallāh is now reported to have read in the feminine, 'ubidat. 'Abdallāh is further reported as reading *wa-man 'abada*, supplying in his reading the much desired relative which is otherwise spoken of as having been suppressed.

According to report, Ibn 'Abbās, Muḡāhid, Ibn Waṭṭāb and others, read *wa-'ubud*, plural of 'abd, as *ruhun* is plural of *rahn*. Ṭa'lab explained it, however, as plural of 'ābid, as *ṣuruf* is plural of *ṣarif*. Following al-'Aḥṣa', az-Zamaḥṣārī had suggested it was the plural of 'abīd, thus plural of a plural. They recite the poet's line: *unsub il-'abda 'ilā 'abā'i-hi * 'aswadi l-ḡalda min qawmin 'ubud*.

al-'A'maṣ and others read *wa-'ubbad*, plural of 'ābid, as *ḡurab* is plural of *ḡarīb*.

Some of the Basrans read 'ibād, plural of 'ābid, as *qiyām* is plural of *qā'im*; or, it might be a plural of 'ubud, or of 'abd.

A reading, 'abīd, plural of 'abd, as *kalīb* is plural of *kalb*, has been ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās.

'Ubayd b. 'Umayr read 'a'buda. Both Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Abī 'Abla read *wa-'abada*, meaning thereby, the plural of 'ābid, 'abada^{nm}, as *saḡara^{nm}* is the plural of *fāḡir*, and showing the elision of the *hā'* on account of the 'idāfa. Or, it may be a noun of plurality, as *ḡādīm* has the plural *ḡadam*. The reading with the *hā'*, 'abada^{nm}, has also been recorded.

Some read *wa-'ābidī* and, according to one report, Ibn 'Abbās read *wa-'ābidū*. These are two sound plural forms, the latter, the nominative, being conjoined to the *man* in *man la'ana-hu*, although, in this case, one has to supply before the 'abadū the understood *mubtada' hum*: *wa-[hum] 'ābidū ṭ-ṭāgūti*; the accusative reading may be taken to be conjoined to *qirada*.

'Awn al-'Uqaylī's reading, *wa-'ābid* was interpreted by 'Abū 'Amr as 'reduced' from a plural pattern, *fa'ā'il*. It might also be taken to be the singular 'ābid used generically.

'Abū 'Ubayda read 'ābida, but 'ābida *ṣ-ṣayṭān*, in place of *wa-'ābida ṭ-ṭāgūti*.

'Abdallāh is further reported to have read *wa-'ubada*, the intensive, as in *ḡu(amun)*. Ḥamza, al-'A'maṣ and Ibn Waṭṭāb read *wa-'abuda*, in the measure of *yaqūzun*, *nadusun*. Nuṣayr, an associate of al-Kisā'ī, repudiated this reading as an unrecognised form of the word.

Suggesting that those who read *wa-'abuda* may have meant *'a'buda*, 'Abū 'Ubayd also repudiated the reading as unreported from anyone of chaste Arabic speech. 'Abū 'Alī, agreeing that there is no such plural form in the language, admitted that it is a singular form expressing frequency and excess. That was also the view of az-Zamaḥṣarī and of Ibn 'Aṭiya. Ibn Mālik recorded it as a noun of plurality.

'Ikrima reports that Ibn 'Abbās read *wa-'ubbad*, which is plural of *'ābid*, as *qurab* is plural of *qārib*, although, in this report, *qāghūta* is reported as being in the accusative. That suggests the presence of *tanwīn*, elided on account of the following definite article.

It seems reasonable to suggest that this bewildering welter of morphological possibilities and this apparent irresponsible attribution is more a tribute to the exuberance of scholars excited by the rich stores of forms and patterns made available by generations of scholars delving into the potential of the language than to any serious regard for an oral tradition of the Qur'ān recitation transmitted in parallel with the preservation of the written record of the *muṣḥaf*.

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ELISION

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It is not the purpose of this paper to undertake an exhaustive treatment of the whole range of phenomena implied by the title.¹ In the nature of things much of the material which should be dealt with in this short survey will have to be elided, and all that can be done here is give a general account of elision and the main problems connected with it, on the principle of *rubba 'iṣāratin 'ablaḡu min 'ibāratin*. Within these limits there will be just enough space to mention the terms and conditions for the process of elision and the method of reconstructing elided elements by *taqdīr*, then to look briefly the implications of elision and *taqdīr* for the text of the Qur'ān and finally to draw some very broad conclusions about elision in medieval Arabic grammatical theory.

Terminology

Table One	
a. not specific:	<i>suqūl, ḡahāb, ḡazm, taskīn, waqf</i> <i>istiḥṣāf</i> <i>'iḡāz, ittisā', iqtisār, iḥtiṣār</i>
b. specific:	<i>kaff, ḥazl, iḥtizāl</i> <i>ḥaḍf, 'idmār, (taqdīr)</i>

Table One lists the rather large set of terms which occur in the context of elision, though not all, of course, are synonymous. To dispose of the minor candidates first, let us note that the loss or removal of elements is often referred to as *ḡahāb* and *suqūl*, which need hardly be considered as true technical terms. On the other hand *ḡazm, taskīn* (also *'iskān*) and *waqf* clearly denote some formal kind of grammatical contraction, but do not specifically refer to elision in the narrow sense which concerns us here (although the loss of an internal vowel, as for example in *wa-l <i>-ya'ḥuḍū*, and even the loss of final vowel in *ḡazm* can indeed be called elision, *ḥaḍf*).² *Istiḥṣāf*, while manifesting itself as elision, is more precisely a motive for or a result of elision, i.e. a display of the natural tendency to economize under the

¹ Even Reckendorf (1895:306) had to give up on the task of providing a complete account of elision, though he furnishes a very useful starting point both in the work cited and in his *Arabische Syntax*:349 (where further references).

² Two early statements on *ḥaḍf* for the loss of *-n* in *ḡazm* are az-Zaḡḡāḡī, *Ma'dnf* II, 98, and Pseudo-az-Zaḡḡāḡī, *Ṭrāb* 835. Ibn Ginnī, *Sirr* I, 30, uses *ḥaḍf* to describe the loss of final vowel in the *ḡazm*, e.g. *yaq'ud <u>* (cf. Bakalla, 1982:207), which means that the comment in M. G. Carter (ed.) 1981:71, 3.73, note 2, that *ḥaḍf* is not used for the *ḡazm*, must now be regarded as an error.

pressure of "frequency of use", *kaṭrat al-istiṣmāl*, a phrase often found together with the term *istiḥṣāf*.

More delicate is the relationship between the words *'iḡāz*, *ittisā'*, *iqtiṣār*, *iḥtiṣār* and the specific concept of elision denoted by *ḥaḍf*. *'iḡāz* and *ittisā'* can be dealt with quickly as belonging more to the vocabulary of rhetoric than of syntax, even though they are usually realized through ellipsis, e.g. by reducing a prepositional phrase to a single term direct object, or eliding whole clauses.³ For *iqtiṣār* and *iḥtiṣār* we follow Ibn Hišām's explanation (*Muḡnī* II, 160) that not every instance of a missing element is necessarily an ellipse: verbs, for example, may be used without their direct objects, as in Q. 2.258, *rabbi lladī yuhyī wa-yumītu*, which is not elision but simply *iqtiṣār*, "restriction".⁴ *Iḥtiṣār*, by contrast, is a form of elision by "abbreviation", and the term frequently co-occurs with *ḥaḍf*. But *iḥtiṣār* is like *istiḥṣāf* in that it describes the motive and result of elision and belongs to the pragmatics of language rather than the mechanics. To clear the decks before turning to the two main terms, let us note that Ibn Fāris (*aṣ-Ṣāhib* 197, 240, 256) sometimes refers to elision as *kaff* "withholding", perhaps a personal idiosyncrasy, and that Sībawayhi occasionally uses *ḥazl/iḥtizala* for the "cutting out" of an element, which may be a stylistic alternative to the synonyms *ḥaḍf* and *'idmār*, in the proximity of which *ḥazl/iḥtizala* are usually found.⁵

The two terms which concern us most are *ḥaḍf* and *'idmār*, both used freely to denote respectively the "cutting out" or "mental concealing" of elements, but which are obviously not synonyms, to the extent that *'idmār* in Sībawayhi and all later grammarians also refers to pronominalization, where the idea of "elision" seems inappropriate. Conversely *'idmār* is not used for the elision of elements at the phonological level,⁶ hence the terms only partially overlap. That *ḥaḍf* genuinely denotes "elision" in the linguistic sense is beyond doubt, but *'idmār* might best be thought of as "suppression", reflecting the sense of "keeping in mind" which unites the concepts of elision and pronominalization, both of these being the antithesis of *'izhār*, "expressing overtly", which is automatically evoked every time the term *'idmār* occurs. A closer study of *ḥaḍf* and *'idmār* as technical terms is certainly needed, and a good place to start is a quotation from Ibn Hišām to the effect that "in the sentence

³ The passage from Q. 4.102, quoted below may be taken as representative, since it was essentially introduced by the Pseudo-az-Zaḡḡāg to illustrate the inimitable concision (*'iḡāz*, *iḥtiṣār*) of divine rhetoric.

⁴ However al-Ḡurḡānī (*Dalā'il* 118-119) evidently considers *iqtiṣār* a type of *ḥaḍf*, and specifically mentions the omission of direct objects as an example, quoting Qur'ānic verses of very similar content to the one cited here.

⁵ But there may also be a difference in meaning: in metrics *ḥaḍf* is evidently specific to the removal of a final syllable while *ḥazl* refers to the elision of a medial syllable, cf. al-Ḡurḡānī, *Ta'rīfāt* 88, 103. In this work, incidentally, the applications of *ḥaḍf* and *ḥazl* appear to be entirely restricted to metrics.

⁶ *'Idmār* also has a metrical connotation, however, which does involve the elision of a part of a word, reducing the foot *mutafā'ilun* to *mustaf'ilun* (= *mut < a > fā'ilun*), see Fleisch 1960-.

ḍarabānī wa-ḍarabtu zaydan the agent of *ḍarabānī* is *maḥḍūf*, not *muḍmar*,⁷ where *ḍarabānī* is clearly analysed not as "struck [he]" with a hidden agent pronoun according to the normal rules for the agent of a verbal sentence but as *ḍarabānī* <*zaydun*> with the agent *zaydun* elided.

Categories of elision

The types of items that can be elided are briefly illustrated in Table Two, though it must again be stressed that there has been no attempt at completeness: the purpose of the examples is merely to demonstrate the wide range of the phenomenon denoted by *ḥaḍf*.⁸ The separation into various levels, from phonological to syntactic (the metrical example is mentioned only for the sake of completeness), has been superimposed on the material for the convenience of Western scholars and has no real analogue in the original Arabic grammatical literature beyond the broad subdivision of *naḥw* into syntax proper and *taṣrīf*, morphology.

Table Two	
a. Phonological	<i>lam yaku</i> < <i>n</i> >; <i>lam 'uba</i> < <i>a</i> > < <i>i</i> >; <i>bi</i> ' < <i>i</i> > < <i>sa</i> >
b. Morpho[phono] -logical	<i>ya</i> < <i>w</i> > < <i>ṣ</i> ilū; <i>lam yaqu</i> < <i>w</i> > < <i>m</i> >; <i>lam yaqḍi</i> < <i>y</i> > < <i>ta</i> > < <i>ta</i> > < <i>fa</i> > < <i>alū</i> ; <i>is</i> < <i>ta</i> > < <i>ṣ</i> ā'a <i>yakūnū</i> < <i>na</i> >; <i>kitābu</i> < <i>n</i> > < <i>r</i> -raḡūli <i>kataba</i> <Agent> < <i>r</i> -riḡālu
c. Syntactical	
word level	<i>wa-llāhi</i> < <i>lā</i> > < <i>a</i> 'alanna; <i>lā</i> < <i>ba</i> 'sa> < <i>alayka</i>
phrase level	<i>kāna</i> < <i>miqdāru masāfati qurbihi miḥla</i> > < <i>qāb[i]</i> > < <i>qawsayni</i>
clause level	< <i>'anta zālimun 'in fa'alta dālika</i> > < <i>fa-'anta zālimun</i> >
sentence level	<i>hal qāma zaydun? na'am</i> < <i>qāma zaydun</i> >
d. Metrical	reduction of final foot, e.g. <i>fā'ilātun</i> -> <i>fā'ihun</i>

⁷ Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* II, 158, citing al-Kisā'ī, Ibn Hišām and as-Suhaylī. From Sibawayhi's discussion of the elision of agent pronouns, *Kiṭāb*, ed. Der., I, 201, Būlāq ed. I, 235, we might contrast *'idmār* and *ḥaḍf* as follows: *'idmār* is the mental act of "suppressing the agent", while *ḥaḍf* denotes the physical "cutting out" of the agent morphemes from the verb. In this way there is no contradiction in using *'idmār* and *ḥaḍf* with reference to the same grammatical event. The paper on Functional Grammar given at this Colloquium by Martine Cuvalay suggests a possibility of separating *'idmār* from *ḥaḍf* by supposing that the former takes place at a much deeper level: whereas *ḥaḍf* can really only occur once the phonological form of the utterance has been determined, *'idmār* would seem to belong to a stage before any syntactic categories at all are selected. This may also explain why only *'idmār* and not *ḥaḍf* is used for the suppression of the conjunction *'an*, since the decision to subordinate is presumably prior to the selection of the appropriate verb form.

⁸ This is presumably one reason why treatments of *ḥaḍf* are so diffused through the sources: only Ibn Hišām seems to deal with elision in a comprehensive and unified way, in *Muḡnī* II, 156-177.

Here I digress for a moment to comment on that fact, since Arabic grammar has more than once attracted criticism for its apparent terminological looseness, lack of high order abstraction and especially its failure to distinguish between levels of analysis. The term *ḥarf* is the most notorious culprit, but there are others which have a similarly wide application, such as *badal* for phonological, morphological and syntactic substitution, *maḥrağ* for both phonetic and syntactical features, *binā'* for morphological and syntactic phenomena, *'idāfa* used by Sībawayhi both for the *nisba* suffix and annexation and by later grammarians for predication, *fā'il* for form and function classes, etc., and it is surely time to consider whether this seeming indifference to linguistic levels might not reflect some conscious and systematic preference. The short answer is, of course, that it does indeed, yet in spite of the obvious fact that the sciences of foreign culture can only be properly understood through their own terminology, even today Arabic grammar is sometimes still judged by the criteria of traditional Latin-based grammar or contemporary theoretical linguistics. Islamic science exhibits a striking economy of technical vocabulary and it is significant that as well as the vertical comprehensiveness just alluded to, there can be a surprisingly broad horizontal uniformity: the terms *waqf*, *nash*, *hāl*, *ḥaraka wa-sukūn*, for example, are important technicalities in more than one Islamic discipline.⁹ The versatility of the word *ḥadf*, then, is not evidence of scientific inadequacy but of a unified concept of language as a continuum rather than as a set of discrete, hierarchical layers.

Having delivered myself of this short sermon I will now comment on the examples in Table Two:

a. These are clearly not productive, and in fact Sībawayhi quotes *lam yaku* and *lam 'ubal* more than once to show that certain cases of elision cannot be generalized beyond the instances recorded as having been used by "the Arabs".¹⁰

b. Here is the familiar elision of the weak radicals under specific conditions. Sībawayhi correctly observes (*Kitāb*, ed. Der. II, 301, Bul. ed. II, 277) that these elisions are now grammaticalized and persist even when the conditions which produced them no longer apply, thus *lam yaḥaf* never recovers its long vowel in contexts where the third radical is nevertheless always vocalized, for instance in juncture: *lam yaḥaf-i r-rağulu*, not *'yaḥāf-i*.

It is arguable whether the dialect forms *tafa'alu* for *tatafa'alu* and *istā'a* for *istatā'a* belong under phonology or morphology (in either case they would be under *taṣrif* in the Arabic system anyway!), but they are placed here because they affect a complete paradigm and are thus somewhat more general than the isolated type represented by *lam yaku*.

Note that elision (*ḥadf*) is the term used to describe the loss of *-n* in the dependent and apocopated forms of the "five verbs", and the dropping of *tanwīn* from the first element of an *'idāfa* construction (and also in the presence of *'alif-lām*). We can add here the process of *tarḥīm*, again with reservations as to whether it should be classified as a phonological or morphological event.

⁹ The same observation has been made for the sciences of Ancient Greece. Siebenborn 1976:117.

¹⁰ E.g. *Kitāb* ed. Der. I, 113, 124, Bul. ed. I, 124, 148.

One of the more spectacular cases of elision in this category (or should it be under syntax?) is the deletion, *ḥaḍf*, of the agent pronoun when there is an overt noun agent (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* ed. Der. I, 201, Bul. ed. I, 235). Similarly the agent is said to be elided (*ḥuḍifa*, though for different reasons) in the process of passivization.

c. At the syntactic level any element from an individual free morpheme to an entire sentence can be elided (the elision of bound morphemes seemed more at home in the previous category, as morphological events). The examples, I hope, will largely speak for themselves.¹¹

d. The metrical application of *ḥaḍf* is mentioned only for the sake of completeness: it is part of the sparse information provided by the article on elision by T. H. Weir in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*!¹²

Principles of elision

At the outset we should distinguish between the conditions and the motives for elision. The latter are not strictly the subject of grammar: they include frequency of occurrence, ease of articulation and rhetorical and other pragmatic considerations which have been noted by all the grammarians since the beginning and will not concern us any further.

Table Three	
a. Context, <i>dalīl</i> :	of situation, <i>dalīl ḥālī</i> , <i>dalīl al-ḥāl</i> , (<i>lisān al-ḥāl</i>)
	textual, <i>dalīl maqālī</i> , <i>dalīl laḥẓī</i> , <i>naṣṣ</i>
b. Restrictions:	integral elements, e.g. <i>fā'il</i> of verb
	cannot elide
	appositionals, substitutes and corroboratives
c. Elision is	"weak" operators, e.g. <i>lam</i> , <i>lan</i>
	optional
	<i><idrib> zaydan!</i>
compulsory	<i>bal <nattabi'u> millata 'ibrāhūna</i>
	<i><-> subḥāna llāhi</i>
	<i>lawlā 'abdullāhi <kāna bi-ḍālika l-makāni></i>
	<i>kutiba <Real Agent></i>

¹¹ The example *kāna <...> qāba qawṣayni* is al-Zamahṣārī's reconstruction (*taqḍīr*) of Q. 53,9 (see *al-Kaṣṣāf* ad loc.), also cited by Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* II, 165.

¹² The new *Encyclopaedia of Islam* has unfortunately postponed the article from "II" for *Ḥaḍf* until "N" for *Nahw*.

a. The most obvious condition in which elision can take place is that the listener should be able to recover the elided elements from the context. Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, ed. Der. I, 240-241, Bul. ed. I, 279) provides many elaborate and circumstantial accounts of elision from this perspective, one of which is translated in full here:¹³

Chapter in which the subject is suppressed (*muḍmar*) while the predicate is expressed (*muḏhar*). This happens when you see the form of a person and your body language shows [the listener] that you know him (*šāra 'āyatan laka 'alā ma'rifaṭihi*), and you say "ʿAbdullāhi, by God!" as if you had actually said "That's ʿAbdullāh!" or "This is ʿAbdullāh!". It also happens when you hear a voice and recognize its owner and your body language shows [the listener] that you know this person, and you say "Zayd, by God!". Likewise if you touch a body or smell a scent and say "Zayd!" or "Musk!", or you taste something and say "Honey!". Similarly if you are told about someone's good qualities and your body language shows [the listener] that you know this person, you would say "ʿAbdullāh!", exactly as if someone had just said "I passed by a man who is kind to the poor and dutiful towards his parents" and you had replied "So-and-so, by God!".

It can hardly be questioned that for Sībawayhi language always functioned in a real context of speaker and listener and that elision is only possible when the real context makes the elided elements obvious.¹⁴ Later grammarians formalized this as two kinds of "indicator" (*dalīl*) determining the possibility of elision, the non-linguistic *dalīl ḥālī* (also referred to as *dalīl al-ḥāl*), familiar to us as "context of situation", and the verbal context, *dalīl maqālī*, *dalīl lafẓī*, or *naṣṣ*.¹⁵

b. This section is an extreme simplification of Ibn Hišām's long list of categories which may not be elided, namely those regarded as integral to the sentence, such as the agent (though there is no objection to eliding either subjects or predicates!) and corroborative and appositional words whose elision clearly contradicts their emphatic function. The "weak operators" are not too well defined by Ibn Hišām, and he gives no examples; however, he evidently understands them to include the *ḥunīf al-ḡarr*

¹³ The principle of *ʿilm al-muḥdāṭab* which is so important for Sībawayhi is frequently invoked in the context of elision, e.g. *Kitāb* (ed. Der.) I, 94ff, (Bul. ed.) I, 114 and passim. For the passage quoted here we assume that the difficult phrase *šāra 'āyatan laka 'alā ma'rifaṭihi* (see Jahn's note on this) must be interpreted as involving the listener as well, because only the presence of a listener legitimizes a correct elision. Goldziher (1888-90:II, 8) has shown that *'āya* in early poetry meant a specifically verbal message, and there would seem to be no reason why Sībawayhi's use of it here should not be translated as "body language".

¹⁴ Proof of this is seen in another context, where Sībawayhi notes (*Kitāb*, ed. Der. II, 309, Bul. ed. II, 283) that since *ʿismām* is an inaudible physical event a blind man will not know the difference between a word pronounced with and one without *ʿismām*!

¹⁵ A historical study of these terms is still needed: in the sources used for this paper *dalīl ḥālī*, *dalīl maqālī* are used by Ibn Hišām (*Muḡnī* II, 156) and *dalīl lafẓī* id. 157, *dalīl al-ḥāl* is in al-Ḥurānī (*Dalāʾil* 120). *Lisān al-ḥāl* is used by al-Širbīnī (Carter, 1981, 9, 1.1 note 3), but note that it is not identical with context of situation as applied to elision, being a more general term for non-verbal communication altogether. *Dalīl* is, of course, used frequently by Sībawayhi to refer to the supplementary information (usually textual) which completes an elliptical expression, but he does not refine the term into the categories of verbal and non-verbal.

and such verbal operators as *lam* and *lan*. A "weak operator" is created in the elliptical expression '*akaltu s-samakata hattā ra'suhā*, with *ra'suhā* instead of the more regular *ra'sihā* or *ra'sahā*, because *ra'suhā* has now to be understood as the subject of an elided predicate <*ma'kūlun*> and the predication operator, being *ma'nawī*, i.e. abstract, is weaker than the overt, *lafẓī* operator *hattā*, which is why the variant *hattā ra'suhā* was disallowed by the Basrans (Ibn Hišām, *Muğnī* II, 156ff).

c. A most important question is the compulsory or optional nature of elision, but only the following provisional observations can be made here, this being a theme which certainly deserves a more thorough investigation:

The issue of optional versus compulsory elision was well recognized from the beginning, and is prominent in the *Kitāb*.

Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, ed. Der. I, 125, Bul. ed. I, 149) in fact established three levels of optionality for elided verbs, viz.

- (i) it is incorrect to suppress the verb (*lā yaḥsunu 'idmāruhu*)
- (ii) the verb may be expressed but is usually elided
- (iii) the verb is never expressed.

He also identified non-productive types of elision, e.g. '*alayka*....!', having what he called quasi-proverbial status with compulsory elision of the missing elements.

Later grammarians, lacking the real spoken context as the determinant, tended to group compulsory elision into two classes, the non-productive, quasi-proverbial fixed forms, and productive syntactic categories such as the *lawlā* construction, certain asseverative constructions and the passive verb.

Worthy of a deeper analysis is the fine distinction by Ibn Hišām (*Muğnī* II, 156) between elision of a structurally indispensable element, ('*imād*'), which requires a *dalīl ḥālī*, and elision of structurally redundant elements (*jadla*), which does not. This suggests that the context can itself be an '*imād*' or supporting element of an utterance, an idea which is latent in Sībawayhi's treatment of the speaker as an operator and which surely has important semantic as well as structural implications. The word '*āya*' in the Sībawayhi quotation above clearly implies a direct interaction between speaker, listener and context in the production of elliptical utterances.

Principles of Reconstruction

Finally we must give some attention to the well developed ideas on the methods of restoring the elided elements, generally called *taqdīr*, literally "estimating" what the missing elements might be, and thus complementary to the terms *ḥadf* and '*idmār*'. For purely historical reasons it should be emphasized that Sībawayhi uses this term exceedingly sparingly, only 24 times in fact, once merely asserting that the *taqdīr* of the word *tudra* is *tadarru*, and on no less than twenty occasions *taqdīr* refers specifically to the treatment of *hamza* as an '*ayn*', i.e. giving it full consonantal value.¹⁶ Only three times does the idea of *taqdīr* occur explicitly in a syntactic context, where the possibility of glosses cannot be ruled out, and it is surely significant that the term *taqdīr* never occurs in the context of elision.

¹⁶ See G. Troupeau (1976:s.v. *qaddara, taqdīr*). Among the twenty is an instance of *hamza* not being treated as '*ayn*' but being elided in juncture instead.

However, Sībawayhi does give plenty of advice on reconstruction without calling it *taqdīr*, the most perceptive being that if a verb has to be restored it should be a verb denoting an action by the listener. In other words (context of situation!), since most ellipsis occurs in direct speech (hence the frequent appearance of expletives in the examples) the listener will automatically tend to assume that he or she is the agent of any elided verb. It is extremely rare, says Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, ed. Der. I, 108, Bul. ed. I, 128) to elide a verb which refers to someone other than the addressee.

Ibn Ġinnī is among those who have discussed *taqdīr* from a theoretical standpoint, applying the long-standing distinction between *taqdīr al-ʾirāb*, "reconstructing the syntax" and *tafsīr al-maʾnā* "interpreting the meaning". One of his illustrations is in Table Two, c, 'anta zālimun 'in fa'alta dālīka: he points out that it is perfectly correct to interpret the meaning as "if you do that you will be wrong" but this *tafsīr al-maʾnā* has misled people into a false *taqdīr al-ʾirāb* which analyses the sentence as an inversion of protasis and apodosis. "God forbid!", says Ibn Ġinnī: while he agrees that 'anta zālimun fills the semantic place of the apodosis it is in no way the actual apodosis, for that has been elided.¹⁷

Three further examples from Ibn Ġinnī:

- a. 'ahlaka wa-l-layla
(wrong) ilhaq 'ahlaka <qabla> l-layli
(right) ilhaq 'ahlaka <wa-sābiqi> l-layla
- b. kullu raġulin wa-ḡayʾatuhu
(wrong) kullu raġulin <maʾa> ḡayʾatihi
(right) kullu raġulin wa-ḡayʾatuhu <maqrānāni>
- c. ḡarabtu zaydan sawṭan
(wrong) ḡarabtu zaydan <bi-> sawṭin
(right) ḡarabtu zaydan <ḡarabata> sawṭin

These demonstrate that even if the meaning can be correctly understood the first syntactical reconstructions in examples (a) and (b) must be rejected because in restoring the elided elements an unnecessary change of case (*al-layli*, *ḡayʾatihi*) is imposed on the original elliptical utterances. As the third example shows, a syntactical reconstruction must both account for the meaning and involve the least distortion of natural linguistic operations: here, says Ibn Ġinnī, it is more plausible to assume an elided *maṣdar* than an elided preposition. The *muḏāf* may be freely elided where the preposition may not, and such exceptional cases as 'amartuka l-ḡayra cannot be used to justify an elision of *bi-* here (Ibn Ġinnī, *Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* I, 284, as-Suyūṭī, *Aṣbāḥ* 170).

Ibn Hišām (*Muġnī* II, 162ff) discusses the methodology of *taqdīr* at length. The essence of his ideas is that *taqdīr* should always reconstruct an element in the same position (i.e. syntactic function) as the elision occurred, as far as possible of the same

¹⁷ Ibn Ġinnī, *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* I, 279-284, reproduced by as-Suyūṭī, *Aṣbāḥ* II, 167f. Note also Ibn Ġinnī's following chapter, I, 284-293, entitled 'iddā dallat id-dalālatu 'alayhi (scil. *al-ḡaḏf*) kāna ft hukmi l-malfūẓi bihi, a study of the kind of elisions represented by the exclamation *al-qirāṣa* "[may you hit] the target!" to one about to loose off an arrow, cf. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* (ed. Der.) I, 109, (Bul. ed.) 130 etc.

size and grammatical category as the elided item. There is a preference for restoring an elided subject rather than a verb, and in cases where it is not clear whether the first or second of two components have been elided, it is better to assume the latter to have been dropped.¹⁸

Conclusion

At this point I would like to turn to the question of elision in the Qur'ān and the place of the theory of elision in Islam in general, with a sidelong glance at contemporary linguistics.

It is remarkable how uninhibitedly and audaciously the grammarians approach the matter of Qur'ānic elision, rephrasing and emending God's speech with utter casualness and supreme confidence even when, as the following simple example makes clear (Q. 42.26),

wa-yastağību <llāhu li-> lladīna 'āmanū wa-'amilū ṣ-ṣāliḥātī wa-yazīduhum min faḍliḥi

wa-yastağību lladīna 'āmanū wa-'amilū ṣ-ṣāliḥātī <li-rabbihim> wa-yazīduhum min faḍliḥi,

they produce quite divergent reconstructions of what God is supposed to have elided, making *alladīna 'āmanū* either the agent or the direct object of the verb *yastağību*.¹⁹ While this particular specimen of *taqdīr* does not have any serious theological consequences there is no doubt that grammar was often used for doctrinal ends, e.g. in the assumption that there must be an elided interrogative prefix in Abraham's triple declaration, "This is my Lord", *hādā rabbī*, to save him from blasphemy since in each case it obviously is not his Lord!²⁰ This is a rich field for further study, and it would be instructive to learn whether the Zāhiris on the one hand and the Mu'tazilis on the other have left any specific polemics about elision (rather than the more general theme of *ta'wīl*) in their literature.²¹

¹⁸ The elided elements range from individual morphemes to complete syntactical units, which reminds us that even at this late date, language was still regarded as a continuum.

¹⁹ The literature, as well as other papers in this colloquium, provides many more complex examples which are not suitable for an oral presentation. In Q. 39.3 *wa-lladīna itaḥadū min dīnīhi 'awliya'a <qā'ilūna/qā'ilīna> mā na'būdūhum 'illā li-yuqarribūnd <-> <inna llāha yahkumu baynahum>*, for instance, there are four possible parsings depending on whether the elided *<qā'ilūna/qā'ilīna>* is (1) a *ḥāl*, (2) a *badal* or (3) a first predicate, this last option depending on whether the verb *yuqarribūnd* has (3a) the unbelievers as its agent (i.e. the same as *alladīna*), or (3b) Jesus, angels and other objects of worship (i.e. not the same as *alladīna*, but then there must be an elided pronoun object, *yuqarribūnd <hum>*) and in both cases there is an elided second predicate *<inna llāha yahkumu baynahum>* (Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* II, 170).

²⁰ Q. 6.76-77-78, referring to the planets. See Pseudo-az-Zağğāg, *T'rīb*, 352.

²¹ An obvious starting point is I. Goldziher (1920: esp. 9f on "ziyādāt"), and see 12f for specific examples; cf. also H. Gärtje (1971:299), which translates al-Gazālī's chapter on *tafsīr bi-r-ra'y*, especially 303, where he warns against those peculiarities of Arab usage such as elision and inversion etc. which can mislead an exegete. As we might expect, an opposite position is held by al-Gurğānī, who positively rejoices in the rhetorical beauties of the Qur'ān, not least elision, which he calls (oblivious of the possible implication of blasphemy) "a kind of magic, where it is more eloquent not to say something, more informative to be silent" etc. (*Dalā'il* 112). We have one example at least of God being at risk of speaking

A final example is reproduced here to show to what extraordinary lengths the grammarian could go in applying the principle of context of situation to the restoration of Qur'anic elisions. It is taken from a work attributed, not very plausibly, to az-Zağğāg,²² and the context is *ṣalāt al-ḥawf*, prayer under conditions of war.

wa-'idā kunta fthim fa-'aqamta lahumu ṣ-ṣalāta fa-l-taqum tā'ifatum minhum
<lam yuṣallū> (a) ma'aka <bi-rak'atin> (b) wa <lladīna nṣarafū tuḡāha l-'aduwwi
wa-lam yuṣallū ma'aka> (c) li-ya'ḥudū 'asliḥatahum fa-'idā saḡadū fa-l-yakūnū
min warā'ikum wa-l-ta'ti tā'ifatum 'uḥrā lam yuṣallū fa-l-yuṣallū ma'aka
<minhum> (d) <rak'atan> (e) <fa-l-tanṣarifi l-'ilā wa-lu'addī r-rak'ata bi-ḡayri
qirā'atin wa-tasallumin> (f) wa-l-ya'ḥudū <bāqithim> (g) ḥaḍarahum
wa-'asliḥatahum. (Q. 4.102)

The whole passage is explained with reference to 'Abū Ḥanīfa's description of the procedures for *ṣalāt al-ḥawf*, in which the congregation is divided into two units, each alternately turning to face the enemy while the other prays behind the imām. Note that in this situation two difficulties have to be overcome, one the obvious need for defence and the other to avoid the imām's praying twice. The elisions marked (a) and (b) instruct the first group to pray one *rak'a*, while those who are to be on guard are directed to take up their weapons in ellipsis (c). On the strength of the sequential meaning of the *fa-* in *fa-'idā saḡadū* the group that prayed first must now turn to face the enemy while the second group prays, these being indicated by the elided *minhum* (d), and likewise are directed to pray only one *rak'a* (e). Then the first group resumes and prays its second *rak'a*, according to ellipse number (f), at which point the imām formally completes his prayers though the congregation does not. Finally the group which is not praying is enjoined to take up its weapons in ellipse number (g), as the pronoun in *wa-l-ya'ḥudū* must be taken as referring to the group that is on guard and not the immediate masculine plural antecedent, which is the group that is currently praying.²³ Eventually both groups will have performed two *rak'as* and the accompanying *taṣāḥhud*, but their prayers will not be completed until they all pronounce the formal greeting to the imām at the very end of the whole procedure.²⁴

incorrect Arabic, namely with the elision of the relative pronoun in a non-canonical reading of Q. 4.95 and 57.10, *wa-kullun wa'ada <hu> <lladhu l-ḥusnā*, but blame is transferred to a human being by ascribing it to the Reader Ibn 'Amir, see Pseudo-az-Zağğāg, *Frāb* 331 and Ibn Iḥṣām, *Muḡtā* II, 159.

²² 31 ff. Both the authorship and title of the work have been rightly questioned by an-Naffāḥ, (1973-74), as noted in Sezgin (1982:100, n. 1). an-Naffāḥ argues that the true author is one 'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī al-Bāqūlī, known as Ḡāmi' al-'Ulūm (not Makki ibn 'Abī Ṭālib al-Qayrawānī as suggested by al-Abyārī) and the title is not *Frāb al-Qur'ān* but *al-Ḡawāḥir*.

²³ Our author disposes of the objection that pronouns can refer to different antecedents in a digression which cites various other Qur'anic examples, op. cit. 32-33.

²⁴ The author takes time to demolish al-Šāfi'ī's version of *ṣalāt al-ḥawf*, in which the first group prays one *rak'a* with the imām and its second one without him, completes the full cycle including the final greeting and then goes out on guard. The other group now prays one *rak'a* with the imām, who thus performs his second *rak'a*, then he waits while they perform their second *rak'a* to complete their own cycle, whereupon they and the imām join in the formal greetings to conclude the whole prayer. Our Pseudo-az-Zağğāg rejects all this on the grounds that the sequential meaning of the conjunction *fa-* makes

The paper concludes with some general remarks on elision. Firstly it is obvious that no theory of elision can exist without a prior notion of what constitutes a complete utterance, and the later grammarians certainly did analyse elision on this basis, once the concept of the sentence (*ḡumla*) had replaced that of the utterance (*kalām*). Sībawayhi presents an interesting problem here: he has been criticized for not having an explicit concept of the sentence, yet this criticism would seem difficult to sustain in view of his extraordinarily thorough treatment of elision. He certainly goes further than at least one modern theoretical linguist (Lyons, 1974:177), who (following de Saussure) relegates a category of elliptical expressions to what he calls "ready-made" utterances which need not therefore be analysed: this is a capitulation which no Arab grammarian, least of all Sībawayhi, would make!

Simply juxtaposing medieval Arab and contemporary European methods of analysis need not, of course, lead to any useful results, but it is worth mentioning that the Arabs (again represented as early as Sībawayhi) were certainly aware that elliptical utterances are of different kinds. What de Saussure called "ready-made" expressions are surely covered by Sībawayhi's term *maṭal*, which translates neatly as "quasi-proverbial" with all its implications of non-productivity, while such terms as *'iḡāz*, *ittiṣāf*, *iḡtiṣār* and *iḥtiṣār* strongly suggest that the grammarians also recognized the difference between true ellipsis, *ḥaḍf*, which depends on the context, and the type of ellipsis which is independent of the context, where the sentence remains grammatically complete (Lyons, 1974:175).

The idea of context of situation provides the theme of my final remarks. When we compare Sībawayhi and Ibn Hišām (they are admittedly a long way apart in time, but this paper is not a historical survey!) we observe a fundamental change in the notion of context from what was for Sībawayhi a largely non-linguistic, real-life environment of language use into one consisting essentially of more sentences. Ibn Hišām's position is coincidentally the same as that of some modern linguists who appear to regard the true context of language as being simply more language. The long Sībawayhi quotation above is a clear demonstration of that fact that for Sībawayhi the non-linguistic and linguistic contexts were equally important, but I would also like to argue that there are good reasons for the shift from a real-life context to one almost exclusively of words and documents.

If we consider Pseudo-az-Zaḡḡāḡ's analysis of the *ṣalāt al-ḥawf* as a case in point we cannot fail to observe that the restoration of the elisions in this passage is achieved entirely in terms of another text, the extra-Qur'ānic corpus known collectively as the Ḥaḍīṭ. No-one denies that the Qur'ān is often reticent or even silent on religiously important matters, and we can see from the example before us that the grammarians could make the text of the Qur'ān appear as full of holes as an Emmenthaler cheese. The only resource for filling these gaps was either reference to other parts of the Qur'ān or to the Ḥaḍīṭ, and more particularly to the subset of traditions which supported the literature of the *'asbāb an-nuzūl* and the legal system in general. It is a commonplace that Islam eventually became a logocentric religion and this is surely confirmed by Ibn Hišām's treatment of elision, where every variety

it impossible: if al-Šāfi'ī were right, he says, it would mean half the congregation finishing the prayers before their imām and the other half keeping him waiting before he could finish his own!

of ellipse is illustrated as far as practicable by Qur'anic quotations and the contexts of situation are all sentences. In this regard, incidentally, even secular material such as pre-Islamic poetry is just another linguistic corpus by this time. Whereas, then, Sībawayhi's theory of elision presumes a living language, that of Ibn Hišām is based by contrast on a text, where ellipsis occurs in a universe of discourse which was not only literary in nature but circumscribed in content, being nothing more or less than the Arabic, and only that Arabic, which functioned as the vehicle of expression for the Sunna.

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أثر النحو العربي في النحو العبري في الغرب الإسلامي

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لقد قدم العرب الاسلامي مثالا رائعا حول تعايش الثقافات الثلاث (1) وتلاقحها وتأثيرها في بعضها البعض حسب درجة هيمنتها وغلبيتها، وصارت مدارس قرطبة وغرناطة وأشبيلية، وقلها جميعا، مدارس سجلها سيرة وستة مراكز تهوى اليها أفئدة طلبة العلوم من كل الافاق. وضممت تلك المدارس امواجا من اليهود المتعاشين مع المجتمع الاسلامي، وأقبلوا على تعلم العربية وعلومها، وافتتحوا على الثقافة العربية - الاسلامية حتى وجدنا أغلبهم يؤلف بالعربية ويناطر بها. وكان مداراهم اهتمامهم إحياء اللغة العبرانية - التي اعتبروها مقدسة - وبعثها وتلقيحها بمصطلحات عربية لتساير ظروف ومقتضيات المجتمع الجديد. وتوسعت هذه الحركة الاحيائية في القرن العاشر (2) حيث أبقت الدراسات اللغوية والنحوية العربية هم لغويي العبرانية، فأفادوا منها في دراسة التوراة، وأعدوا معاجم غريبها وأحصوا الدخيل فيها، ولم يغفلوا جهود يهود المشرق وشمال افريقيا، الا أن تلك الدراسات لم تحاول تحديث العبرانية لتستعمل أداة تواصل يومي بل اهتمت برصد أوجه الفصاحة في عريضة التوراة، فكادت وصعبة في أغلب الاحيان عملت على تبيان المراتب النحوية ومعاني المعجم التوراتي واحصاء الدخيل فيه.

وتجدر الاشارة الى أنه كانت هناك بعض الاصوات أحست بنوع من النداء الالهي يدفعها الى تخليص العبرانيين وتسميهم من مقية فقدان هويتهم اللغوية، وحرص على أن تحرى اللغة المقدسة على لسانهم. (3)

ومن أوجه التأثير العربي في كتابات نحاة العبرانية في الغرب الاسلامي، أن أغلب مؤلفاتهم كانت بالعربية، واستعملت المصطلح النحوي العربي، واتبعت مناهج علماء العربية، ونفس التأثير بدا فيما ألفوه بالعبرانية.

ففي القرن الثالث الهجري، ألف يهودا بن قريش التاهرتي معجما دعا فيه الى ضرورة تحريد الالفاظ من الروائد وضبط أصولها، وهو يرى أن هذه الاصول ترتكز على حرفين اثنين هما أصل المادة، وهذا مذهب القائلين بالثنائية في اللغويات العربية، وهو مذهب معاير لمذهب سيويه وأصواره من القائلين بالثلاثية. كما ألف ابن قريش رسالة الى

يهود فاس في الحضر على تعليم الترحوم والترغب فيه والتعبيط بفوائده ودم الرضيه (4). وقد أشار ابن قريش في رسالته المذكورة الى مسائل مهمة ما كان ليقف عليها لولا معرفته بالعربية والبربرية والارامية. لقد حاول ابن قريش تأويل التشابه بين اللغات المذكورة فاهتدي الى ما يلي :

1 - المقارنة في النسب تؤدي الى تشابه اللغات (5) فتأرجح (آزر) أبوابراهيم كان آراميا، ولأبأب آراميا أيضا، واسماعيل وقيدار كانا مستعربين من مد رمان اللبلة في سابل، واسحاق ويعقوب عليهما السلام كانا متمسكين باللسان المقدس من آدم الاول، ولعله من خلال هذا أراد طرح مسألة العائلات اللعوبية (العائلة السامية على الخصوص) لكنه تعدى اللغات السامية التي ينقنها الى لغة أخرى حامية (6)، يتعلق الامر هنا باللغة البربرية. وهذا التشابه بين العربية والارامية والعبرانية والبربرية، يمكن ان يكون استند فيه الى ما يعتقده اليهود المقارنة من كـون البربر هاجروا الى المغرب قادمين من فلسطين زمن الملك داوود (7) وهو أمر كاف بالنسبة له ليقرر التشابه بين تلك اللغات الشرقية التنسي بدرسها، والبربرية بحكم المقارنة في النسب أولا ثم بسبب المجاورة في البلاد شائبا.

2 - المجاورة في البلاد سبب من أسباب التشابه بين اللغات كذلك، وهو يرى أن جميع اللسان المقدس الحامل في "المقرأ" قد انتشرت فيه ألفاظ سريانية (آرامية) واختلطت به لغة عربية وتشددت فيه أحرف أعجمية وبربرية، والاختلاف الذي يلاحظه بين العبرانية والعربية بسيط "لايكاد ينعدي ابتدال الصاد والضاد والجيم والطبت والطاء والعين والفين والحاء والخاء...". يقول: "وانما كانت العلة في هذا التشابه والسبب في هذا الامتزاج قرب المجاورة في البلاد والمقارنة في النسب.... فتشابهت اللغة من قبل الممازجة كما نشاهد في كل بلد مجاور لبلد مخالف للغة من امتزاج بعض الالفاظ بينهم، واستعارة اللسان من بعض."

والظاهر من قوله أنه اعتمد المقارنة والقياس بين اللغات التي قدمها في رسالته الى يهود فاس، كما اعتمد نفس المنهج في التمييز بينها وبين لغات سائر الأمم، ولعل في هذا تصريحاً بمسألة العائلات اللعوبية، يقول: "ونشرح الحروف التي تساوت بين العبرانية والارامية والعربية في أوائل الكلام وأواسطه وأواخره (8)، وليس ذلك موجود في لفظة من سائر لغات الأمم سوى في لسان العبرانية والسريانية والعربية."

والاثر العربي في رسالة ابن قريش يتمثل فيما يلي :

1 - المصطلح الذي استعمله ابن قريش عربي بالمرة، فهو يستعمل مصطلح الابدال والعلة والقياس ويستعمل لفظة "قالب" للدلالة على وزن الكلمة، كما نظر الى الكلمات من حيث أوائل الحروف والواسط والاواخر، وهو

عين مانحه عند نخاة العربية قبله، وبلاضافة الى هذا كله نجده
أورد الكلمات على نظام أحد، وهو ترتيب استعملته المعاجم العربية
الاولى .

(2) - ألف ابن قريش كتابه بالعربية وأرسله الى يهود مدينة فاس وكان
ذلك في القرن الثالث الهجري أي على عهد الادارة . وهذا دلالة واضحة
على أنه في هذا القرن كانت اللغة العربية قد انتشرت بالمغرب بشكل
واسع ، الى درجة أن التعريب عمّ فيها الطائفة اليهودية التي كانت تتحدث
البربرية والعبرانية، وفي هذا دفع لما يقرره البعض من تعثر التعريب
في المغرب الى عهد المرينيين .

ولا ينبغي أن ننسى في هذا الصدد داود بن ابراهيم الفاسي مؤلف
معجم الالفاظ، وقد عاصر عبد يا بن يوسف القيومي مؤلف "إجارون" فسي
النحو . وقد استعمل داود بن ابراهيم الفاسي المصطلح النحوي العربي
وذكر أن الالفاظ العبرانية تركز على أحرف هي أساس الالفاظ . وأن هناك
من الالفاظ ما يدور على حرفين يستان ولو جردتهما من اللواحق، ومنها
ما يدور على حرفين وان نزعتهما اللواحق . ومنها ما يدور على ثلاثة
حروف هي الاصل وما يدور أربعة اصلية بكاملها او مكررة ، يقول : "ولا يزيد
على اللغة العبرانية من هذه الاربعة، وعليها يستني منطقهم من الامر والنهي
والاثبات والمستأنف والفاعل والمفعول والاسم والمصدر والتذكير والتأنيث ما خلا
أسماء الاشخاص، التي غير منصرفة فانها تزيد على أربعة أحرف،"

والاثر العربي في كتاب جامع الالفاظ يتمثل بالخصوص في المصطلح العربي
الذي استعمله ابن ابراهيم الفاسي .

ومن النخاة العبرانية المؤلفين بالعربية في العرب الاسلامي نذكر
أبا زكرياء يهودا بن داود حيوج الفاسي مؤلف كتاب "التنقيط" (9) وقد
بين فيه أصول توزيع الحركات والسكون على الالفاظ العبرية، وأشار الى غلبة
الرأي القائل باشتقاق الالفاظ من الاصول الثلاثة . وكان من أكثر نخاة
العبرانية في الاندلس تعصبا لمدرسة سيويه في النحو، ومذهبه في القياس .
وآلف أبو زكرياء كتاب "الافعال ذات المثليين" و "الافعال ذات حروف
اللين" ردا على الذين أنكروا عليه امكانية اشتقاق الالفاظ من حرفين.
والمصطلح المستعمل في كتابات حيوج النحوية عربي بحمله .

ولا ينبغي أن ننسى هنا أبا الوليد مروان بن حجاج القرطبي، وفي عصره
توطد تأثير مدرسة البصرة في الاندلس، وصار كتاب سيويه أساس المدرس
النحوي فيها، ولادل على ذلك كثرة الشروح الاندلسية التي قدمت له . . والسر
في اتباع نخاة العبرانية في الاندلس مذهب البصرة كونهم كانوا ينطلقون
في دراستهم من النص المكتوب، ويستعملون القياس، ولا مجال للسمع عندهم

لان لعنهم في تلك الفترة كانت مبنية او في حكم المبنية (10). والامر عندهم كان يتعلق بعملية نفعيية احبائية تنطلق من مدونة محددة : التوراة والتلمود وكتابات السلف ومذهب الكوفة كان يقوم بالاساس على السماع.

وقد ألف ابن حنابل كتاب "اللمع" وهو جزء من كتاب "التنقيح" أعلن فيه عمله بمذهب القياس، كما أعلن انه من أهل القياس أتباع سيبويه (11) وكان غالبا ما يحيل عليه بالاسم، كما فعل حينما تحدث عن الإيجاز والحذف يقول: "ان العرب اذا تكررت لفظة على لسانهم لحاوا الى تخفيفها، كان يقولوا: "المناء" ويريدون "المناء"، ثم يقول: "وقد يحذفون أكثر من هذا، حتى أنهم يستخرجون من الكلمة بذكر اول شبهة منها، يحكي ذلك سيبويه"، وانشد لبعضهم:

بالخير خبرات وان شر فآ

ولا أريد الشر الا ان تآ

أراد: وان شرا فشرأ، فاستجزأوا بالفاء فقط، وأراد بقوله الا أن تآ: الا أن ترشد فاستجزئيء بالفاء فقط. (12)

وقد جلبت عليه اشاراته الصريحة الى المصادر والشواهد النحوية العربية، مشاكل عديدة، تمثلت في نكسر الكثير من اليهود عليه، ومؤاخذتهم لسه، ولهذا كتب "كتاب التنبيه" الى احد اصدقائه يشرح فيه فساد ما انكره عليه أعداؤه يقول: "واعلمك ان هؤلاء السفهاء لقبوا كتابهم بكتاب الاستيفاء، وعروه الى بعض الاعمار خوفا منهم ان يتسع الرد عليهم فيه، وتكثر السخرية منهم عليه لعلمهم أيضا اني لا محالة ساقهم:

لسبق الجواد اذا * استولى على الامد

أعادك الله، وأساك من الآراء المضللة والاهوية المردبة بمنه ورحمته (13) "

وفي "كتاب الاصول" قدم ابن حنابل معهما غيرا على ترتيب أبجد، أفاد فيه من مناهج التأليف المعنى العربي من حيث ترتيب المواد، وتقدم الاصول على الفروع والاشتقاقات.

لكن الصراع حول طرق توظيف علوم العربية وحدود ذلك التوظيف في احياء اللغة العبرانية، سيميل اشد عند لعوين اثنين وتلامذتهما من بعدهما. ويتعلق الامر هنا سناحيم بن سروق (910 - 970 م) مؤلف "المخبرت" بالعبرانية (14) ودوناش بن لبراط الفاسي (920 - 990 م) مؤلف "كتاب التشويش" بالعبرانية كذلك (15). وانتقل الصراع الى تلامذهما، فآلف أنصار ابن سروق كتابا في الرد على دوناش (16) ورد أنصار هذا الاخير على الاول وأنصاره.

وقد اشار أسنادنا أنجيل ساينس يدوس، الى ان دوناش ومناحيم وأنصارهما استفادوا من علوم عصرهم التي تلقوها من المشاركة والشمال افريقيين، ولم تكن الفيلولوجيا (علم اللغة) غاية لدانشا عندهم فقد ايقظت جهود

نحاة العربية هم العلماء اليهود واقنعتم بضرورة توسيع الدراسات الى اللغة المقدسة (17). فمناحيهم يرى أن دراسة النحو وسط معجم اللغة هو طريق الى تحسين معرفة التوراة من اجل التوفيق في شرحها، وتأويل الغامض منها. وحاول مناخيم حصر معاني كل لفظة تورانية مشيراً الى معناها المباشر أو ما اسماء "البسيط"، فجاء معجمه معجماً تأويلياً واطلق عليه طلبته تسمية "كتاب التأويلات" (18).

ودراسة اللغة سبيل الى فهم النص المقدس عند مناخيم، عكس دونياش بن لبراط الذي يرى أن المعرفة النحوية واللغوية، لا يمكن أن تكون كافية لفهم النص ما لم تكن مشفوعة بمعرفة واسعة بالامور الدينية نظرياً وعملياً، والتأويل عنده ينبغي أن لا يكون مخالفاً للشرعة (19).

والخلاصة أن كتب مناخيم ودوناش واصارهما، كانت تغلب القياس على السماع على مذهب سيهويه رغم كونهم يختلفون في حدود وطرق استخدامه في التفسير، والمصطلح المستعمل عندهم عبراني مترجم عن العربية والاشارة الى اللفظ العبرية في كتبهم كثيرة ورود.

وقد تمتعت كتب نحاة الاندلس من العبرانيين بعد القرن العاشر فوجدت أن التأثير بقي فيها سائر المفعول من حيث وصف أقسام الكلام، واستعمل المصطلح العربي مترجماً الى العبرانية من مثل: שם המספר اسم العدد שם הפעל اسم الفاعل שם היחס المنسوب. وكاستخراج أوزان الفعل من مادة فعل: وحافظت مؤلفات العبرانيين النحوية بعد القرن العاشر على الترتيب الذي نحداه في مؤلفات النحو العربي، من مثل: البدء بالحديث عن الكلم، وتقسيم الكلام الى اسم وفعل وحرف، ثم تفصيل القول في كل قسم من تلك الاقسام.

ولما كان القصد من دراسة اللغة عندهم ديسي من اجل حفظ النص المقدس من اللحن، فقد وجدناهم يفضلون الاكثار من الشواهد النوراتية. والترم نحاة ما بعد القرن العاشر من العبرانيين سذهب القياس لانطلاقهم من مدونة محددة. وسوف نحددهم في القرن الثاني عشر يناقشون نظرية العامل وحدود دلالة الاسم والفعل على المادة والاحداث. ومن الذين نحوا هذا المنحى موسى بن يوسف الكمخي في الـ "سكول طوف" (الفهم الحيد) (20) ولم ينحصر هذا التأثير العربي في كتب النحو العبراني الخالصة، بل تعداها الى كتب النوازل الفقهية والشروح النوراتية، وقد وقفت من خلال كتب النوازل المغربية على مواضع كثيرة كان أحبار المغرب يخصصونها لتحليل الكلام المقدس، لتحليل ارتكاز على قواعد النحو العبري والعربي ومناهج المفسرين المسلمين.

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THE EXPRESSION OF DURATIVITY IN ARABIC¹

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0. Abstract

In this paper I present a comparative study of preverbal aspect markers,² used with the 'imperfect' verb forms in four spoken dialects of Arabic. The discussion of the forms and functions of these preverbal markers (PMs) is put in a diachronical perspective, in order to explain the apparent similarities between the PMs in different dialects, as well as their - sometimes slight - divergence in meaning.

1. Introduction

1.1 The opposition between prefixed and suffixed verb forms

The verbal system of Classical and Modern Standard Arabic is characterized by the opposition between two sets of forms. In the first set, each form consists of a stem with a suffix indicating person, number and gender. The forms of the other set are built from verb stems with prefixes or circumfixes. This morphological opposition between a suffixed form (SF) and a prefixed form (PF) is also typical of almost all of the contemporary spoken dialects of Arabic.³

Many orientalist scholars have tried to account for the different semantics of the SF and PF by claiming that the meaning of the opposition is to be interpreted either as primarily temporal, or as basically aspectual.⁴ I will follow Comrie (1976:78) in his observation that the distinction is equally relevant to both categories. He summarizes his description of the 'combined tense/aspect opposition' by stating that the SF indicates both perfective meaning and relative past time reference, while the PF indicates everything else. Beeston (1986:48-49) mentions these two semantic levels, and recognizes a third one, the modal level, in which the SF points to a fact and the PF to a conceptual idea, not necessarily realized in fact.

It is important to notice that all verbs may be inflected according to the SF or PF, and that the interpretation of the two opposing forms is dependent on the lexical meaning of the verb and the context. The PF (i.e. the imperfective, non-past, non-factual) represents the 'default' category (see Dahl 1985:19), in the sense that this inflec-

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² In this paper I use the term 'preverbal marker' to be able to generalize over the various forms that may occur. Due to differences in the degree of grammaticalization, the more specific term 'prefix' may be adequate for some preverbal markers, while 'particle', or 'proclitic' is preferred for the description of others.

³ Exceptions are found in Arabic creoles like Ki-Nubi (Heine 1982) and Juba Arabic (Miller 1986).

⁴ See Aartun (1963), Kharmā (1983) and Messaoudi (1985) for a survey of the different approaches.

tion can also be used in the absence of a specific aspectual, temporal or modal value.

1.2 The subcategorization of the PF

The basic functional opposition between PFs and SFs can be refined by the use of auxiliaries, particles, and PMs. In Classical and Modern Standard Arabic a further subcategorization of the PF is achieved by different endings, thus yielding an indicative, a subjunctive, and a jussive form. There is an optional preverbal future marker *sawfa* or *sa-*, used with the indicative PF.

Almost all of the contemporary spoken dialects of Arabic have one or two PMs, which can be added to the PF to make finer aspectual and temporal distinctions. Most of them have one to mark prospective aspect, anticipation, or future tense, and another that is said to indicate durativity, continuation, progressive aspect, and sometimes also habituality. The different endings for indicative, subjunctive, and jussive forms are not used in any of the spoken dialects.

In both the written and spoken varieties of Arabic a form of the verb *kāna* 'to be' is used with auxiliary functions, mainly to indicate time reference in verbal complexes where the lexical verb shows some sort of aspectual marking.

1.3 The functions of the active participle

In addition to the PFs and SFs mentioned so far, yet another, morphologically nominal form plays a role in the verbal system. Although examples are cited from as early as the Qur'ānic period (Cohen 1989:186), the so-called active participle (AP) is not systematically used with verbal functions in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic.

In many of the spoken dialects, however, the AP forms of a certain group of verbs (most of them classified as 'verbs of motion and attitude') are used to express continuity. The PFs with preverbal durativity markers do occur with these verbs, but only to indicate non-continuous imperfectivity.

The AP forms of this group of verbs are considered to be firmly integrated in the aspectual system of the dialects discussed in this paper. The APs of verbs that do not belong to the special sub-group are most often reported to indicate (relative) present perfect.

Cowell (1964:271) and Woidich (1975) propose to explain the obligatory use of the AP for the expression of the present continuous with certain verbs by postulating an inherent 'inceptive' meaning for these verbs. In this way, an analysis as present perfect could account for the apparent meaning of 'continuous action' too.

According to Caubet (1990), AP forms may express continuous action, future time reference, and present perfect. She found all three possible meanings for forms of the same verb, and cites examples from Urban Moroccan, Cairene, and Tunisian Arabic.⁵ She concludes that the AP is obviously a dynamic element in the language, often combined with strong modal values. Following Caubet, it seems safe to maintain that the aspectual meaning, time reference, and modal value of APs are highly dependent on the context and intonation.

⁵ Caubet (1990) discusses also the dialects of Malta and Algiers.

1.4 The functions of aspectual markers

In this article I will focus on the functions of aspectual 'durativity' markers in the colloquial varieties of Arabic. The fact that many dialects have developed PMs to denote more or less similar aspectual and temporal categories, but that the form of these PMs is not the same for the different dialect groups, has puzzled orientalists. It led some of them to believe that this development must have been present in the spoken form of Arabic before the fast spreading of Islam, while others maintain on the contrary that it should have started later.

As the presumed development of the PMs plays only a relatively small role in the still ongoing discussion on the origin of the dialects and their relation to the Classical language, I will not address this complicated issue directly here. I refer to Versteegh (1984) for a survey of the different viewpoints and his own intriguing proposal based on the concepts of pidginization and creolization.

Concerning the changes in the verbal system, however, I think that the use of similar, but in form different PMs can be quite convincingly explained on the basis of a gradual, essentially independent development. The way in which the verbal system of the Arabic dialects apparently changed over more than a thousand years is not so different from the developments described in many other, unrelated languages, and is even claimed to be part of a universal tendency by linguists like for instance Bybee and Dahl (1989).

In section two I will first introduce the PMs of four dialects, and summarize what has been considered in relation to their possible origins. Then I will concentrate on the two questions that formed the basis for my present investigation:

- (i) Do the preverbal markers of various Arabic dialects cover the same kind of durativity, or is their semantic range in fact different?
- (ii) What are the consequences of the existence of these preverbal markers for the meaning and function(s) of the 'bare' prefixed form?

The results of the following study of the literature on four dialects provide an interesting case-study, that, although synchronical in nature, may deepen our insights in some of the mechanisms of language change.

2. Preverbal markers in four dialects of Arabic

2.1 Some methodological remarks

The forms and functions of PMs in Arabic dialects were already the subject of careful studies around the beginning of this century, as can be exemplified by the titles of the works of Glaser (1901: *La préformante bâ-, be- de l'imparfait arabe*), Kampffmeyer (1899: *Das marokkanische Präsenspräfix ka*), and others. Many publications have appeared since that were wholly or partly dedicated to a description of PMs in one or more dialects.

The reason that I decided to use only the material on four city dialects is a practical one: there are limits to the amount of information that can reasonably be included in one paper, and a rather detailed comparison of four more or less arbitrarily chosen dialects presents a coherent view of the diversity that may be encountered. They constitute, however, by no means a 'representative' sample, and I am quite confident that an investigation based on four other dialects will come up with

other nuances of meaning than the present one, although the general conclusions will remain the same.

A second remark concerns the reliance on the existing descriptive material. It is well known that especially in the area of tense, mood, and aspect, grammars do not always give as much information as is needed for a clear assessment of all the functions involved. As for the data on Cairene Arabic: I had access to many different sources, and I was also able to discuss contradictory assertions with an informant.

Of a number of studies of Moroccan city dialects (mostly of the dialect of Rabat), I used Caubet's description of the dialect in the region of Fes because it contains a large section on tense, mood, and aspect phenomena, with rich descriptions of the contexts and interpretations of the examples. Her observations on the use of the PM *ka-* were all confirmed by other informants.

For the city dialects of Damascus and Tunis, I consulted the grammars of Cowell (1964) and Singer (1984) respectively. I judged Cowell's treatment of tense, mood, and aspect in Syrian Arabic to be very insightful and conclusive, and I trust his numerous examples to be authentic. The information on the dialect of Tunis is rather straightforward, and has been confirmed by informants.

2.2 On the origin of the preverbal markers

Before relating what has been proposed about the possible origins of the PMs, I will first give the equivalents of the small sentence 'he is working' in the four dialects concerned.

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) a. Tunis: | <i>qā'ed yehdem</i> ⁶ |
| b. Fes: | <i>ka-yehdem</i> |
| c. Cairo: | <i>bi-yiṣṭaḡal</i> |
| d. Damascus: | <i>'am-(b-)yeṣṭeḡel</i> |

The preverbal progressive marker *qā'ed* in the spoken dialect of Tunis is the masculine singular AP form of the verb *qa'ad* 'to sit'. The form is no longer inflected for number and gender, but its origin remains transparent. A more reduced form of the same marker, *qa-*, is used as a prefix to the PF in the Jewish Arabic dialect of Tunis.

The Moroccan PM *ka-* is generally believed to stem from the participle or perfective form of the auxiliary and copular verb *kān* 'to be' (Cohen 1924:67), although this analysis cannot account for variants like *ta-*, and *'a* that are also common in certain regions of Morocco.⁷

The origin of the PM *bi-* in Egyptian Arabic is sometimes attributed to a verbal form, but it is more often identified with the preposition *bi-* 'with, in, at, by', which is usually prefixed to a (pro)noun or the definite article *l-* (Cohen 1924:63, Versteegh 1984:88).

The PM *'am-* in Syria is probably derived from *'ammāl*, an AP form of the verb *'amal* 'to do'. It is interesting that the full form of this participle is currently also

⁶ The examples are all given in the transcriptions used by the cited sources for the individual dialects.

⁷ In view of the frequent occurrence of (derived) forms of the verb *qa'ad* 'to sit', to indicate the ongoing or beginning of an action (apart from Tunis, Cohen (1924) mentions Palestine, the Bedouins of Syria and Mesopotamia, Lake Teḥad, Malta, Tripoli and Baghdad), I think that an etymology based on this verb should be considered too.

used in Cairene Arabic to emphasize progressive aspect. The etymology of the Syrian PM *b-* is not very clear, but its form suggests a derivation from the same source as the Egyptian Arabic PM *bi-*.

2.3 Universal tendencies

Now that I have given an impression of the presumed origins of the PMs in the four Arabic dialects that I investigated, I want to turn briefly to some conclusions based on studies of other languages. As part of their description of major paths of development for TMA-categories in 'the languages of the world', Bybee and Dahl (1989:57-8) stated that expressions with a copula, locational/postural, or movement verb develop into progressives, which in turn develop into imperfectives.

Verb phrases with a copula, motional or postural verb as auxiliary are also mentioned as frequent signals of progressive aspect in Blansitt's (1975) comparative study of more than 50 languages.

On the basis of these universal tendencies we would expect that the Arabic 'durativity' markers with a presumed verbal source originated as progressive markers. The ones that currently have a wider function may have expanded their meaning gradually in a process that has been described for many other not related languages, too.

As there is not enough historical material on the spoken dialects of Arabic to support such a hypothesis directly, we may try to gain insight in the semantics of this process by comparing different dialects synchronically. It is well known that the social circumstances favored language change in some dialects more than others. Without getting into the specific socio-historical details for the individual dialects, we can assume that the influence of these varying circumstances may be reflected in different developmental stages.

In this paper I present the results of a first investigation based on a comparative approach. As such, the interpretations and general conclusion are preliminary in the sense that they still have to be tested against further data from the same and other dialects.

3. An investigation of the functions of preverbal markers

3.1 The comparison of four dialects

The outcome of the investigation is represented in Table 1. For each of the four dialects I have indicated which form (the PF with or without a PM) is used to express a certain semantic value. When two or more possibilities coexist, they are separated by slashes (/). If one of two coexisting forms is more frequently used than the other, the less preferred form is put between brackets.

Table 1: The functions of PMs in four dialects of Arabic

	Tunis	Cairo	Fes	Damascus
progressive	<i>qāʿed</i> PF/PF	<i>bi</i> -PF	<i>ka</i> -PF	<i>ʿam(b)</i> -PF
habitual	PF	<i>bi</i> -PF	<i>ka</i> -PF	<i>ʿam(b)</i> -/ <i>b</i> -PF
neutral	PF	PF-/(<i>bi</i> -PF)	<i>ka</i> -PF/(PF)	<i>b</i> -PF
suppositive	PF	PF	PF	<i>b</i> -PF
non-actual	PF	PF	PF	PF
'future'	<i>bāš</i> -/PF <i>māš</i> -PF	<i>ḥa</i> -/ <i>ha</i> -/PF <i>raḥ</i> -PF	<i>ḡadi</i> PF/ <i>ḡa</i> -PF	<i>raḥ</i> -PF/ <i>laḥa</i> -/ <i>ḥa</i> -PF

A bottom row with preverbal future markers (most of them etymologically derivable from verbs meaning 'to go') is added, as these PMs play a role in the semantic shifts discussed in the remainder of this article. I put the term 'future' in Table 1 between quotes, because it is here meant to cover a whole range of meanings, from prospective aspect to the expression of high probability, and the different PMs do not necessarily express exactly the same.

The less familiar terms used for the more refined description of the 'durativity' markers will be explained in the following sections.

3.2 Progressive and habitual aspect

The use of the preverbal progressive aspect marker *qāʿed* in the dialect of Tunis is not obligatory, in the sense that its use is required only in the absence of time adverbials or a specific context to indicate unambiguously that reference is made to an ongoing action (Singer 1984:301). With verbs belonging to the special group discussed in 1.3, progressive aspect is designated by the AP. For all values that are not expressed by the SF, the AP, or the PF with the future marker, the PF is used in its 'bare' form, i.e. without additional PM.

In the dialect of Cairo, the function of the PM *bi*- is not limited to the expression of progressive aspect. The PM is obligatorily used for the expression of habitual aspect, even when the context makes it explicitly clear that habituality is intended. The same holds for the Moroccan PM *ka*- in the dialect of Fes: its range is much wider than we would expect on the basis of mere progressivity, and it has in fact been described as a marker of present tense, or as an indicative prefix.

In both dialects, the same PM can be used twice in a verbal complex consisting of the auxiliary verb *kān* 'to be' and a full verb. In this case, the complex form expresses the habitually repeated occurrence of a progressive action, as in the following sentences:

- (2) a. Cairo, Salib (1981):

'is-sā'a waḥda bi-nkān bi-nitgadda
 the-hour one PM-be:PF.1p PM-eat lunch:PF.1p
 At one o'clock we are usually eating lunch.

- b. Fes, Caubet (1989):

nās-el-ḡīwān u el-mšāheb, melli ka-ykānu
 Nas-El-Ghiwane and El-Mchaheb, when PM-be:PF.3p
 ka-yhedru wella ka-yḡennfw, ḥetta āna, ma ka-...
 PM-speak:PF.3p or PM-sing:PF.3p even I NEG PM-...
 Nas El-Ghiwane and El-Mchaheb, when they are speaking or singing, even
 I don't ...

3.3 The expression of general facts in Cairo

In Cairene Arabic, generic statements like those concerning physical facts are sometimes expressed with the PM *bi-*, but the use of the bare PF seems to be a more common way of designating a universal truth. Examples of generic statements without and with the PM are:

- (3) a. Cairo, Badawi and Hinds (1986):

'il-'azhār tifattaḥ fi-r-rabī'
 the-flowers bloom:PF.3fs in-the-spring
 Flowers bloom in spring.

- b. Cairo, Wise (1975):

'is-sukkar bi-ydūb fi-l-mayyā
 the-sugar PM-dissolve:PF.3ms in-the-water
 Sugar dissolves in water.

In most languages, generic sentences are expressed with the most 'neutral' or unmarked verb form (Dahl 1985:100, Ultan 1972:58), usually a simple present, like in English. Comrie (1976:40) rejects the existence of a specific 'universal' tense, and states that the distinction has more to do with aspect and mood. He also suggests that pragmatic factors play an important role.

I think it is worthwhile to stress the conceptual difference between claiming that a statement is true for a specific, localized time interval and making a general comment, supposed to be valid for all possible time intervals, which is essentially a modal value.

For Cairene Arabic, the difference in the expression of habitually and generally valid statements is described by Davies (1981:211), who made the observation that more informants favored the form with *bi-* when the context was made more specific. As his work involved a comparative analysis of contemporary and 17th century Egyptian Arabic, Davies also comments on the diachronical development (1981:226-230):

...the *bi-*imperfect occurs in HQ [the 17th century text, MC] with its main function of marking actuality in association with continuative and habitual action. However, there are no examples of it being used in HQ with its secondary MEA (Modern Egyptian Arabic) function of indicating the more 'factual' generalities, or physical state. The most important difference between HQ and MEA, however, is that in the HQ text both categories [continuative and habitual action, MC] can also be expressed with the unmarked imperfect....

I would venture the very tentative statistical comment, that examples of the unmarked imperfect in HQ are less frequent in association with habitual than with continuative action. This may imply that the association of the *bi*-imperfect with habitual action was not as yet firmly established.

So these data suggest that the PM *bi*-, which at first was only used to mark progressive aspect, gradually expanded to cover habituality, too. Now that the use of this PM to indicate habitual aspect is firmly established for most speakers, yet another function can be detected. Some speakers currently use the PM in expressions with general truth validity.

I believe that this more recent shift can be explained by the association of the bare PF with non-actuality, and the - still incomplete - interpretation of the *bi*-PF as the most neutral form in Cairene Arabic. To fully understand this association, we have to look at the emergence of the future marker *ḥa*- too.

3.4 The emergence of future markers

The Egyptian future marker *ḥa*- (or *ha*-) is believed to be a reduced form of *rāyih*, the AP of the verb *rāḥ* 'to go'. A similar derivation is proposed for the Moroccan PM *ḡadi* 'going', and the Tunisian *bāš*, a variation of *māš*, which can also be traced to a verb meaning 'to go'. The Syrian 'particle of anticipation' with the forms *raḥ*-, *raḥa*-, *laḥ*-, *laḥa*-, *ḥa*-, and *rāyeḥ* resembles the Cairene future PM *ḥa*-, and seems to be derived from the AP of the verb meaning 'to go' too.

In the light of universal tendencies, these findings are not very surprising. Dahl and Bybee (1989:57) stated that expressions with a verb meaning 'desire', 'movement towards a goal' or 'obligation' may develop into 'grams' (i.e. grammatical morphemes like affixes, clitics, auxiliaries, etc.) expressing intention and future. In addition to future time reference, the PMs derived from a verb meaning 'to go' may express a relatively high degree of probability, at least in some dialects of Arabic.⁸ The difference in degree of certainty (speaker's commitment to the truth of the propositional content of the utterance) between the PF without preverbal future marker, and the PF with this marker is exemplified by the following sentences from Moroccan Arabic:

- (4) Morocco, Harrell (1962):
- a. *ḡedda iḡi*
tomorrow come:PF.3ms
He's supposed to come tomorrow.
 - b. *ḡadi iḡi ḡedda*
PM come:PF.3ms tomorrow
He'll come tomorrow.

With the emergence of an assertive future marker, and a PM to indicate progressive and habitual aspect, the bare PF started to lose a considerable part of its range of meaning. The bare PF remained to be used for the expression of future time reference in combination with a relatively low degree of probability, in the rare sentences

⁸ In the case of Cairene Arabic, this 'high probability' meaning of the prefix *ḥa*- may also be used in expressions that refer to the present or past, as in *ḥaykūn ḥallaṣ iṣṣuḡl da imḡāriḥ* 'he will have finished that job yesterday' (Wise 1975).

with verbal predicates that are neutral with respect to tense and aspect, and in the far more common dependent context, that is to say in a subordinate syntactic position, as the complement of verbs meaning to want, to hope, etc.

As a result of the frequent association of the PF with subjunctivity, this form may have been felt to convey a non-actual meaning in itself. I assume that the loss of two important parts of its meaning, i.e. strongly asserted future time reference and 'real' imperfectivity (as designated by a new marker that does not encompass the default cases too) led to a reinterpretation of the older imperfective form, the PF. As a result of this reinterpretation as the non-actual form, the PF began to be used independently to express wishes, curses, and not very strongly asserted facts (suppositions).

It is such a development that can explain the incidental use of the Egyptian bi-PF for the expression of general facts: the PM is now sometimes used to stress the assertion, because the bare form can be interpreted as less certain. In this way, the PF with PM may gradually become the most 'neutral' verb form.

I believe that the same tendency may have led to the greater degree of neutrality for the PF with *ka-* in Fes, and to the complete acceptance of the PF with *b-* as the neutral (or default) form in Damascus, that will be discussed in the next sections.

3.5 The expression of general facts in Fes

According to Caubet (1989:644), general facts are always expressed with *ka-* in the dialect of Fes, as in sentence (5):

- (5) Fes, Caubet (1989):
- | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>el-ma</i> | <i>ka-ygli</i> | <i>f-myāt</i> | <i>dārāža</i> |
| the-water | PM-boil:PF.3ms | in-hundred | degree |
- Water boils at 100 degrees.

There is no alternation between the form with PM and the bare PF, as attested in Cairene Arabic. Proverbs, however, are found with both forms:

- (6) Fes, Caubet (1989):
- lli* *ḍerḥāt-u* *yidd-u* *ma* *ybki* !
 who hit:SF.3fs-him hand-his NEG cry:PF.3ms
 He who has been hit by his own hand doesn't cry.
 - yidd* *waḥda* *ma* *ka-tštah* !
 hand one NEG PM-dance:PF.3fs
 One hand alone doesn't dance.

Proverbs can usually be identified as general facts with presumed universal validity. Thus, in the absence of a special generic tense, we would expect them to have verbs in the most neutral form, like the expressions concerning physical facts. In Cairene Arabic, the verb forms in proverbs are most often in the bare PF, confirming Davies' observation that this form is preferred in a non-specific context. In Fes, where the PF with the PM *ka-* is always used for generic expressions, the proverbs with the bare PF may be reflecting a more archaic stage of the language (Caubet 1989:646).

After a short discussion of the use of PMs in Damascus (3.6) I will give some more examples of verb forms in a 'neutral' context for all three dialects (3.7 and 3.8).

3.6 The expression of imperfectivity in Damascus

In the dialect spoken in Damascus, the PM *'am-* may also be realized as *'amma-*, *'amm-*, or *'am-*. All the forms can be followed by the verb either with or without *b-*: *'am-byākol* or *'am-yākol* both mean 'he is eating'. *'am-* + *-b-* is most common in the first person singular (*'am-bākol* 'I am eating', more common than *'am-'ākol*); otherwise the forms without *b-* are predominant. Cowell (1964:320) calls *'am* "the particle of actuality, that is used to designate a state or an activity actually going on at the moment", and its prototypical use is as in (7):

- (7) Damascus, Cowell (1964):
le-m'adden *'am-i'adden* *el-'adān*
 the-muezzin PM1-call to prayer:PF.3ms the-call to prayer
 The muezzin is (right now) giving the call to prayer.

According to Cowell (1964:321), the same particle "may denote interrupted, off-and-on activities, as long as they are viewed as constituting a time-limited state of affairs, as opposed to a mere disposition or generality." So here we have the same distinction between habituality and genericity, that has been discussed in relation to the PM *bi-* in Cairene Arabic.

A difference between the two dialects is, however, that the form with *bi-* in Cairene Arabic is obligatory with habitual aspect, and optional in generic statements, whereas the form with *'am-* in the dialect of Damascus is optional with habitual aspect, and never used to indicate general facts. Sentence (8) gives an example of *'am-* for the expression of habituality:

- (8) Damascus, Cowell (1964):
'am-b-edros *be-ž-žām'a*
 PM1-PM2-study:PF.1s at-the-university
 I'm studying at the university.

In Damascus, all general facts are invariably expressed by the form with *b-* (but without *'am-*):

- (9) Damascus, Cowell (1964):
ž-žāžat *b-ibīdu* *bēd*
 the-hens PM2-lay:PF.3p eggs
 Hens lay eggs.

3.7 Verb forms in a 'neutral' context

Most linguists agree on the restriction of progressive aspect to dynamic situations. According to Comrie (1976:35), stative verbs do not have progressive forms, since this would involve an internal contradiction between the stativity of the verb and the non-stativity essential to the progressive (see also Dahl 1985:93, and Chung and Timberlake 1985:215).

As predicted by the definition of progressive aspect, Dahl's sample of more than 60 languages shows the absence of progressive markers with verbs expressing intellectual or emotive states, such as *think*, *believe*, *hope*, and *feel*, even when the context specifies 'right now'.

I assume that the bare PF, which may express present states with some of these verbs in the dialects of Cairo and Fes (see (10a) and (10b)), is in this sense the neutral or 'default' form associated with non-past and non-perfectivity.⁹

(10)

- a. Cairo, Davies (1981):
'azunn-u *gayy*
 think:PF.1s-him come:AP.ms
 I think he's coming.
- b. Fes, Caubet (1989):
tfehmi-ha *hādīk?*
 understand:PF.2fs-it that
 Do you understand that?
- c. Damascus, Cowell (1964):
b-zen *b-a'arf-o*
 PM2-think:PF.1s PM2-know:PF.1s-him
 I think I know him.

In Damascus the PM *b-* is always used with the same verbs (see (10c). With respect to the PF with *b-*, Cowell (1964:326) states in a footnote:

The simple imperfect indicative [the PF with *b-*, MC] is functionally the base, or residual (or neutral) tense-mode, i.e. we are dealing with the non-past non-subjunctive non-actual non-anticipatory inflection, whose uses, structurally speaking, are exactly that.

3.8 The 'historical present'

Another context which is typical for the occurrence of neutral verb forms is a succession of events in a narrative. According to Dahl (1985:113), quite a considerable number of languages use unmarked verb forms in narrative contexts. I think that the neutrality of the form explains the use of the bare PF in sentence (11) from Cairene Arabic (the sentence is reported to be part of a vivid story):

- (11) Cairo, Wise (1975):
yirūh *hināk wi* *ma-yla'i-hā-š!*
 go:PF.3ms there and NEG-find:PF.3ms-her-NEG
 (... and then) he goes there and doesn't find her!

In the Arabic dialect of Fes, we may find the PF with the PM *ka-* in a succession of events in a narrative context, even when the verb denotes a momentaneous action, as in (12):

- (12) Fes, Caubet (1989):
therrset *dīk-ez-zlāfa* *ka-ttēr* *l-ha*
 break:SF.3fs that-the-bowl PM-fly:PF.3fs to-her
wāhed-es-seqfa *u* *ka-ttī-ha* *f-'īnī-ha...*
 one-the-piece and PM-come:PF.3fs-her in-eye-her
 The bowl broke and one of the pieces flies towards her and hits her in the eye.

⁹ In both Egyptian and Moroccan Arabic, the PFs with PM are also common for these verbs.

Caubet (1989:652) suggests that this unexpected use of *ka-* could be ascribed to 'wear and tear' of the PM, which, according to her, originally must have been created to express simultaneity. I think that this expansion of the range of meaning covered by the PM can be explained by the reanalysis of the bare PF as less certain. Especially in a vivid passage (and hence related in the historical present), the story-teller wants to stress the actuality of the events described by the verb forms, and the ambiguity arising from the use of a bare PF is avoided.

In Damascus, the PF with *b-* (but without *'am-*) is used as a historical present in narrative contexts:

- (13) Damascus, Grotzfeld (1965):

la'u l-war'a malfūf fī-ha l-bandan, b-iṣṭb-ū,
find:SF.3p the-paper wrapped in-it the-pendant PM2-bring:PF.3p-it
b-ya'mlu farḥa tānye menšāno
PM2-make:PF.3p party second for it
They found the piece of paper, the pendant wrapped in it, they brought it,
and made another party because of it.

3.9 The expression of non-actuality

The change of meaning from an aspectual category (imperfective) to a modal one (non-actual) has already been described by Colin (1935:133) for the bare PF in Moroccan Arabic:

Les parlers marocains sus-indiqués ont, au moyen d'une préfixation, tiré de cet aoriste [the PF, MC] un *rêel*, à valeur d'indicatif présent, tandis que l'aoriste nu n'y fonctionne que comme un *éventuel* ayant à la fois la valeur d'un futur vague, d'un subjonctif final et d'un optatif.

In all four dialects, a bare PF is obligatorily used in the sentential complements of modal verbs:¹⁰

- (14)

- a. Cairo, Badawi and Hinds (1986):

'il-mudīr 'āyiz yikallim-ak
the-director want:AP.ms talk:PF.3ms-you
The director wants to speak with you.

- b. Fes, Caubet (1989):

bḡēt-u yḏi !
want:SF.1s-him come:PF.3ms
I want him to come !

- c. Damascus, Cowell (1964):

kān marra malek smīn ktīr
be:SF.3ms once king fat very
w-rād yenḥaf
and-want:SF.3ms reduce:PF.3ms
There was once a very fat king, and he wanted to reduce.

¹⁰ As most values are expressed by the bare PF in Tunisian, there are no examples of this dialect included.

The opposition between PFs with and without PM accounts for the different interpretations (epistemic versus deontic)¹¹ in (15) and (16):

(15) Cairo, Jelinek (1975):

- a. *lāzim bi-yiṣṭaḡal kitīr*
 necessary PM-work:PF.3ms much
 He must work a lot (I infer he works a lot).
- b. *lāzim yiṣṭaḡal kitīr*
 necessary work:PF.3ms much
 He must work a lot (he is obliged to work a lot).

(16) Damascus, Cowell (1964):

- a. *'āl 'enn-ak b-teḏi*
 say:SF.3ms that-you PM2-come:PF.3ms
 He said that you would come.
- b. *'āl 'enn-ak teḏi*
 say:SF.3ms that-you come:PF.3ms
 He said that you should come.

The meaning of non-actuality is not restricted to the occurrence of the bare PF in complements. The form is used independently for the expression of wishes, exhortations, and obligations:

(17)

- a. Cairo, Wise (1975):
yirūh fī dahya !
 go:PF.3ms in hell
 Let him go to hell !
- b. Fes, Caubet (1989):
yaḥlah, nemšiw l-ed-dār !
 come on, go:PF.3p to-the-house
 Come on, let's go home !
- c. Damascus, Grotzfeld (1965):
yeḏi lahōn !
 come:PF.3ms here
 He must come here !

The PF without PM is also used (in all varieties of Arabic) for the negation of the imperative. So while *ṣteḡel* means 'work' in Syrian Arabic, 'don't work' can only be expressed by *la teṣteḡel*. The second person forms of the bare PF can express a positive imperative too.

The independent use of the bare PF is furthermore attested in 'deontic questions', i.e. questions that ask for the permission, instructions, or the moral judgement of the addressee:

(18)

- a. Cairo, Wise (1975):
*'a*ud hina ?*
 sit:PF.1s here
 Can I sit here?

¹¹ I refer to Palmer (1986) for a discussion of the terms 'epistemic' and 'deontic'.

- b. Fes, Caubet (1989):
gālet l-ha 'mmwi ! 'mmwi ! šnu nžīb ?
 say:SF.3fs to-her mamma mamma what bring:PF.1s
 She said to her: Mama! Mama! What do I have to bring?
- c. Damascus, Cowell (1964):
'a'mel 'ahwe, wella šay ?
 make:PF.1s coffee or tea
 Shall I make coffee, or tea?

3.10 Suppositions

In Damascus, suppositions are expressed by the PF with *b-*:

- (19) Damascus, Cowell (1964):
r-režžāl b-ye'ežb-ak
 the-man PM2-please:PF.3ms-you
 You'd like the man.

The same form occurs in weakly asserted sentences with future time reference, like in (20a). For strong assertions with future time reference, the preverbal 'future' marker must be used, as in (20b).

- (20) Damascus, Cowell (1964):
- a. *ba'd bekra b-irih 'a-l-madrise*
 after tomorrow PM2-go:PF.3ms to-the-school
 The day after tomorrow he's going to school.
- b. *l-be'a mā laha-tella'*
 the-stain NEG FM-come out:PF.3fs
 The stain won't come out.

In the dialects of Cairo and Fes, suppositions and weakly asserted propositions with future time reference are expressed with the bare PF, which is used for non-actuality too. Although the conceptual difference between 'supposedness' and non-actuality is rather subtle, I interpret this more extended use of the PM *b-* in Damascus as a sign of its complete reinterpretation as an indicative. The bare PF in this dialect became so strongly associated with non-actuality, that even relatively weak assertions like suppositions eventually had to be expressed with the PM.

4. Conclusions

In this paper I hope to have shown that it is interesting to try to 'refine' some general observations about diachronical developments, even by making an essentially synchronical comparative analysis. The differences in the ranges of meanings covered by the PMs in the four dialects studied support the general observation that progressive forms may develop into imperfectives. The imperfective forms may subsequently be reanalysed as indicative moods. At this stage, a new progressive marker can be introduced, which in turn may acquire additional imperfective meaning.

I especially highlighted the shift of an aspect/tense category to a modal level, by a reinterpretation mechanism that tries to make sense out of the 'left-over' functions.

At this point I have to emphasize once more that there is very little direct historical evidence for the developments suggested in this paper. The description of the findings in four different dialects of Arabic as if they represent different stages

in a more or less advanced, but essentially similar development remains as yet unconfirmed. I think, however, that the data as presented here provide an interesting viewpoint, that may serve as a hypothesis for further research.

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AL-FARRĀ' AND AL-KISĀ'Ī
REFERENCES TO GRAMMARIANS AND QUR'ĀN READERS
IN THE MA'ĀNĪ L-QUR'ĀN OF AL-FARRĀ'

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0. Introduction

al-Kisā'ī¹ was a controversial figure of the early formative period of Arabic grammar. This is reflected in the *ṭabaqāt*-literature where he is judged by extreme views, and is described either as the person who knew everything about grammar or the person who knew nothing about it. So we can read sentences like: "ağma'ū 'alā 'anna 'aktar an-nās kullihim riwāyatan wa-awsa'ahum 'ilman al-Kisā'ī" ('Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 120) and satirical lines like:

'ammā l-Kisā'ī fa-dāka mru'un * fī n-naḥwi ḥārīn gayru mirdādi [= murtādi]

wa-huwa li-man ya'tīhi ḡahlan bihi * miṭlu sarābi l-bīdi li-ṣ-ṣādī²

We must - of course - be cautious taking over uncritically 1000 year old personal remarks relating to grammarians and their teachings.

al-Farrā' considered al-Kisā'ī a trustworthy person in different matters of transmission, be it a Qur'ānic reading or an Arabic word form. In al-Farrā''s wording: "wa-kāna wa-llāhi mā 'alimtuḥu illā ṣadūqan" (*Ma'ānī* III, 107). al-Farrā' respected al-Kisā'ī's readings, and this is reflected in passages where they differ because of linguistic reasons, and still he says about al-Kisā'ī's version: "innamā qultu ḥasanun li-'anna l-Kisā'ī qara'ahu" (Q. 52.28, *Ma'ānī* III, 93.6).

al-Farrā' has an intimate knowledge of al-Kisā'ī's readings, sayings and teachings of all kind. Though we can consider it the outcome of his being al-Kisā'ī's student, at the same time I should like to emphasize the thoroughness of this knowledge. It becomes apparent in passages where al-Farrā' refers to changes in al-Kisā'ī's views. E.g. Q. 96.18 (*Ma'ānī* III, 280 where al-Kisā'ī is quoted as having recently said that the singular of *az-zabāniya* is *zibnī*, with a remark that he had previously said that he did not hear a singular for it and knew neither analogy (*qiyās*) for it nor *samā'*. Even his hesitations in reading are recorded by al-Farrā', like in the case of Q. 2.214 (*Ma'ānī* I, 133)³. al-Farrā' also made use of the written grammatical works or at least one of the books of al-Kisā'ī as is shown by the sentence: "wa-qad 'ağzahu l-Kisā'ī fī kitābihi" (*Ma'ānī* I, 57.13).

¹ 'Alī b. Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. Bahman b. Fayrūz al-'Asadī 'Abū l-Ḥasan al-Kisā'ī, d. 805. Kufan grammarian and one of the seven authorized Qur'ān readers; for his biography see Ibn al-Ġazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 535-40, n° 2212; 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 120-1; az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 127-30; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* II, 256-74, n° 456; and Sezgin 1984:127-31.

² Poem of al-Yazīdī (d. 818) who was the teacher of al-Ma'mūn, while al-Kisā'ī was the teacher of his brother 'Amīn, so there was rivalry between them, see as-Sīrāfī, *Alḥadīr* 33.

³ al-Farrā''s text is as follows: "wa-qad kāna l-Kisā'ī qara'a bi-r-raḥ' dahrān tumma rağ'a 'ild n-naṣb".

There are 271 direct or indirect references to al-Kisā'ī in the *Ma'ānī*. Though sometimes it is very difficult to separate the ways he is quoted by al-Farrā', still we can distinguish between two main types: al-Kisā'ī quoted (1) as being a *qānī* and (2) as being a grammarian. Within both types we can differentiate between al-Kisā'ī (i) as an informant reporting what he had heard and (ii) as somebody whose own views or readings are quoted.

1. al-Kisā'ī, the *qānī*

1.1 Transmitter of readings

He is quoted 11 times as transmitter of readings. These particular places (Q. 20.15, 27.25, 43.52, 46.25, 53.22, 54.15, 56.55, 66.3, 79.11, 90.10, and 104.9) concern morphological questions with or without differences in meaning. In one instance (Q. 90.10) only the meaning of the *'āya* is supported.

1.2 al-Kisā'ī's readings

al-Kisā'ī's readings are quoted 27 times if we count only those occurrences where al-Farrā' mentions him directly. This number, however, becomes much bigger if we take into account those places where al-Kisā'ī is not mentioned by name but we know from other sources that the particular reading is also his or his alone. These are much greater in number and amount to 129. In this presentation I do not wish to treat these instances.⁴ I simply wanted to mention their existence since they are not negligible from the point of view of an overall picture of how al-Kisā'ī is treated in the *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*.

1.3 Comparison with other readers

The number of quotations becomes more significant if we compare it with the number of quotations of other persons (grammarians and readers). Leaving out al-Kisā'ī, general references to groups of grammarians (33 times), and readers (534 times) al-Farrā' quotes 7 grammarians and 64 readers by name. These grammarians are mentioned 10 times, while readers are quoted 1593 times.

Among the readers quoted in the *Ma'ānī*, the following order can be established:⁵

1. Ibn Mas'ūd (411 occurrences) {'Abdallāh Ibn Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥārīṭ 'Abū 'Abdarrāḥmān al-Hudālī, d. 654, makkī, ṣaḥābī}
2. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (141 occurrences) {al-Ḥasan b. 'Abī l-Ḥasan Yasār 'Abū Sa'īd al-Baṣrī, d. 728, XIV/13⁶}
3. 'Āṣim (141 occurrences) {'Āṣim ibn 'Abī n-Naḡūd Bahdala 'Abū Bakr al-'Asadī, d. 745, kufī, VII/5}

⁴ They have been treated by Beck 1948:338-46.

⁵ Biographical data concerning the readers are taken from Ibn al-Ğazārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, Bergsträßer - Pretzl 1938, and Jeffery 1937.

⁶ Roman numerals refer to whether the reader in question belongs to the so-called seven, ten or fourteen authorized readers, while Arabic numerals indicate his rank in the ordering, see Bergsträßer - Pretzl 1938:186-9.

4. Ibn 'Abbās (129 occurrences) {'Abdallāh Ibn 'Abbās b. 'Abdalmuṭṭalib 'Abū l-'Abbās al-Hāsimī, d. 687/8 madanī}
5. al-'A'māš (115 occurrences) {Sulaymān b. Mihrān 'Abū Muḥammad al-'Asadī al-Qāhirī al-'A'māš, d. 766, kūfī, XIV/14}
6. 'aṣḥāb 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd (98 occurrences)⁷
7. 'Ubayy (92 occurrences) {'Ubayy ibn Ka'b b. Qays b. 'Ubayd 'Abū l-Mundir al-'Anṣārī, d. 656, madanī}
8. Yaḥyā (75 occurrences) {Yaḥyā ibn Wattāb al-'Asadī, d. 722, kūfī, tābiṭ}
9. Ḥamza (71 occurrences) {Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb b. 'Imāra at-Taymī az-Zayyāt, d. 773, kūfī}
10. as-Sulami (53 occurrences) {'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb b. Rabī'a 'Abū 'Abdarrahmān as-Sulami aḍ-Ḍarīr, d. 694, kūfī}
11. Muḡāhid (53 occurrences) {Muḡāhid b. Ḡabr 'Abū l-Ḥaḡḡāg, d. 722, makkī, tābiṭ}
12. 'Alī (42 occurrences) {'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib, d. 661.}
13. al-Kisā'ī (27 occurrences) {VII/7}
14. 'Abū Ḡa'far (25 occurrences) {'Abū Ḡa'far Yazīd b. al-Qa'qā' al-Maḥzūmī al-Madanī, d. 748, X/8}

All the remaining 43 named readers are quoted less than 13 times, 23 of them only once.⁸

Adding to the number of direct quotations those where we gather only from outside sources that the reading is al-Kisā'ī's would put him in the second place with 156 references. But even if we consider only the above list, al-Kisā'ī is among the leading authorities whose readings are quoted in the *Ma'ānī*. There is also another thing to be considered in connection with the number of the quotations. Namely, that considering the fact that al-Farrā' was the student of al-Kisā'ī, we might also suppose that in cases when he did not want to argue with him or contradict his views he simply did not quote him because there was no reason why he should have done so, since al-Kisā'ī's knowledge was his as well. A considerable exception seems to be constituted by the quotations of al-Kisā'ī as transmitter of grammatical material which support or illustrate al-Farrā''s analyses.

2. Grammarians quoted by al-Farrā'

2.1 Grammarians other than al-Kisā'ī

The picture is very different if we examine the scope of grammarians quoted by al-Farrā'. Let us examine first which grammarians are quoted by name and in what

⁷ They are mentioned 65 times collectively and 33 times by concrete names: 'Alqama (13 times) {'Alqama b. Qays b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālik an-Naḥā'ī, d. 682, kūfī}, Masrūq (8 times) {Masrūq b. al-'Aḡḡa' b. Mālik 'Abū 'Ā'īsa al-Ḥamadānī, d. 683, kūfī}, al-'Aswad b. Yazīd (thrice) {al-'Aswad b. Yazīd b. Qays an-Naḥā'ī, d. 694/5, kūfī}, Zirr b. Ḥubayš (thrice) {Zirr b. Ḥubayš b. Ḥabāša 'Abū Maryam al-'Asadī, d. 701/2, kūfī}, ar-Rabī' b. Ḥuṭaym (twice) {ar-Rabī' b. Ḥuṭaym 'Abū Yazīd aṭ-Ṭawrī, d. 683/4, kūfī}, 'Abū Razīn (twice) {'Abū Razīn Mas'ūd b. Mālik, d. 704, kūfī}, al-Ḥārīt ibn Suwayd (once) {al-Ḥārīt b. Suwayd at-Taymī, d. ca. 692, kūfī, tābiṭ}, 'Abdallāh b. Ma'qil (once) {'Abdallāh b. Ma'qil, d. 707, kūfī}.

⁸ Transmitters of readings are not counted here.

instances al-Farrā' quotes them, disregarding references to the same persons or to other grammarians if they are quoted as *qurrā'*.⁹

2.1.1 'Abū l-Bilād an-Naḥwī¹⁰ (1 occurrence) (*Ma'ānī* III, 242.7 Q. 81.17)

Quotes a poetic *šahid* - attributed to Imru' l-Qays but considered by many to have been forged - for the illustration of the meaning of *as'asa*.

2.1.2 al-'Alā' ibn Sayāba¹¹ (1 occurrence) (*Ma'ānī* II, 79.4 Q. 14.44).

His opinion is quoted about a syntactic question: the ending of the verb after *fa-* in the *ḡawāb* of an imperative.

2.1.3 al-Qāsim ibn Ma'n¹² (1 occurrence) (*Ma'ānī* II, 42.2, Q. 12.26).

His opinion is quoted about two place names whether they contain *hamza* or not.

2.1.4 al-Mufaḍḍal ad-Dabbī¹³ (1 occurrence) (*Ma'ānī* I, 13.12, Q. 2.7)

Quotes a *qirā'a* of 'Āsim ibn 'Abī n-Naḡūd.

2.1.5 'Abdallāh al-Ḥaḍramī¹⁴ (2 occurrences) (*Ma'ānī* II, 182.13, Q. 20.61; *Ma'ānī* II, 183.2, Q. 20.61).

Asked al-Farazdaq about a morphological problem in his verse.

2.1.6 Yūnus [*ya'nī an-naḥwī*] al-Baṣrī¹⁵ (2 occurrences) (*Ma'ānī* I, 127.6, Q. 2.212; *Ma'ānī* II, 37.11, Q. 12.10).

Recited two poems.

2.1.7 ar-Ru'āsī,¹⁶ the teacher of al-Kisā'ī and al-Farrā'.

Since ar-Ru'āsī is considered to be a prominent figure among Kūfan grammarians, it might be interesting to mention all the places where his name occurs.

⁹ Grammarians appearing in the *Ma'ānī* have been analyzed from a different aspect by Talmon (1985).

¹⁰ So mentioned by al-Farrā'; az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 191, speaks about him in the chapter '*al-luḡawīyyīn al-kufīyyīn*'; al-*ṭabaqā al-'illa* and calls him 'Abū l-Bilād al-'A'mā but says nothing else about him. According to Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'drif* 235, he lived in the time of Ḡarfī and al-Farazdaq.

¹¹ No details are known about him except that he was a Kufan grammarian, the teacher of Mu'ad al-Harrā' who died in 804.

¹² al-Qāsim b. Ma'n b. 'Abdarrāḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd an-Naḥwī (d. 790 or 804), Kufan grammarian, and *qāḍī*. Cf. az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 133-4.

¹³ al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Ya'īz b. Sālim b. 'Abī Salmā b. Rabī'a b. Zabbān ad-Dabbī (d. 786), *luḡawī kufī* see az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 193, 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Mardīb* 116, Sezgin 1982:115-6.

¹⁴ 'Abdallāh b. 'Abī 'Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī an-Naḥwī (d. 735 or 745), Basran grammarian, Cf. az-Zubaydī *Ṭabaqāt* 31-3, as-Sirāfi, *Aḥbār* 19-22, 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Mardīb* 31 and fn. 1, Sezgin 1984: 36-7.

¹⁵ 'Abū 'Abdarrāḥmān Yūnus b. Ḥabīb ad-Dabbī al-Baṣrī (d. 798). Cf. az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 51-3; 'Abū ṭ-Ṭayyib, *Mardīb* 44-5, as-Sirāfi, *Aḥbār* 27-30, Sezgin 1984: 49-51.

¹⁶ 'Abū Ḡa'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abī Sāra ar-Ru'āsī, (d. ca. 809) cf. Sezgin 1984:125-6, az-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 125, fn. 1.

There are altogether seven occurrences. In five of them he quotes his teacher of 'arabiyya'¹⁷, 'Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'¹⁸, the Basran reader and grammarian. In two instances he is the transmitter of a particular reading of 'Abū 'Amr: Q. 34.14 (*Ma'ānī* II, 357.1) and Q. 21.103 (*Ma'ānī* II, 371.6); once he quotes a story related by his master: Q. 20.61 (*Ma'ānī* II, 182.13); twice he transmits something from the grammatical teachings of 'Abū 'Amr: Q. 27.22 (*Ma'ānī* II, 289.15) — about the declension of a word; Q. 47.18 (*Ma'ānī* III, 61.5) — a syntactic analysis.

ar-Ru'āsī is quoted twice on his own right, these occurrences reveal nothing from his grammatical teachings. At the same time he is characterised as an honest, and reliable, trustworthy person. One instance concerns heard material:

Q. 105.3 (*Ma'ānī* III, 292.9): Quoted as having heard a singular form ('ibbāla) of a word ('abbāḥ) that has apparently no singular.

The second is a Qur'ānic reading of ar-Ru'āsī concerning Q. 36.27 (*Ma'ānī* I, 9.10).

From the above we can see that for al-Farrā' the preeminent grammarian is al-Kisā'ī. He is the grammatical authority, with whom he might or might not agree, but against whose views, against whose book¹⁹ he wants to define his own grammatical theses.

2.1.8 On the one hand, this meagre presence of grammarians may probably be found in the genre of the book, i.e. that its focal point is the Qur'ān and not the treatment of grammatical problems for their own sake. On the other hand, this is the surroundings in which the quotations of al-Kisā'ī have to be evaluated. This meagre presence is in contrast not only with the number of places where his name occurs but also with the method by which references are made to him. Although al-Kisā'ī is also found as a transmitter of linguistic material, be it a poetic verse or a simple Arabic word, there are several instances where his grammatical (syntactical, morphological or phonological) views are quoted and analyzed by al-Farrā'. Evaluating the above figures we must bear in mind that sometimes it might be a controversial issue to separate between a person's appearance as a reader and as a grammarian. In fact, if separation seems to be desirable, all the occurrences have to be analyzed one by one, as we could have seen it in the case of ar-Ru'āsī for example. Another example can be Zuhayr al-Furqubī, whose readings are quoted twice by al-Farrā', though he was known among the *qurrā'* as "Zuhayr al-Furqubī an-Nahwī"²⁰.

2.1.9 We may also compare these numbers to the number of similar occurrences in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*, which on the basis of Troupeau's *Index* are as follows: 16 persons (grammarians and readers together) are mentioned 987 times. This includes al-Ḥalīl

¹⁷ See al-Qifti, *Inbāḥ* IV. 99.

¹⁸ 'Abū 'Amr Zabbān b. 'Ammār b. 'Uryān ibn al-'Alā' al-Tamīmī al-Māzinī (d. c. 766) {VII/3}.

¹⁹ See *Ma'ānī* I, 57.13.

²⁰ See Ibn al-Ğazālī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 295, n° 1301. Cf. Sezgin 1984:124.

608 times and Yūnus 217 times, and the remaining 14 persons 162 times (Troupeau 1976:227-31).

Two conclusions can be drawn - in my view - from the comparison of these figures. The first is that both Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' quote primarily their masters, while they do not tie to specific names views that are generally known. The second is that the small number of references to grammarians in the case of the *Ma'ānī* seems to point to that al-Farrā' is relatively often individual in his views.

2.2 al-Kisā'ī, the grammarian

The total number of references to al-Kisā'ī the grammarian is 104. These must be further divided into two main groups:

2.2.1 References to the collector of grammatical material, 62 times

- 24 quotations of poetic *šawāhid*
- 38 references to the "speech of the Arabs".

It might be of some interest to review briefly how these references are distributed among the different linguistic areas. The distribution of poetic *šawāhid* is as follows²¹:

- 2 phonological
- 5 morphological
- 16 syntactical
- 1 semantical

While among the references to the "speech of the Arabs" we find:

- 3 phonological
- 13 morphological
- 20 syntactical
- 2 semantical references.

So the majority of the quotations are in case of syntactic questions.

There is also another point which would deserve in my view further investigation in the future. It is the wording used by al-Farrā' when he quotes what al-Kisā'ī collected. In the case of poetic *šawāhid* it is of course always: *'anšadanī*, but in the case of references to the "speech of the Arabs" there are differences. Sometimes he uses *"qāla l-Kisā'ī"*, other times *"za'ama l-Kisā'ī"*, etc. It seems to be worthwhile to investigate whether there is any connection between this wording and the rejection or acceptance of what al-Kisā'ī collected. Sometimes, however, it is hard to decide, since al-Farrā' does not always take sides unequivocally.

2.2.2 References to al-Kisā'ī's own grammatical views, 42 times

It might be interesting to note that while other grammarians — as we have seen — are usually not referred to in relation with the discussion of syntactic structures, these references in case of al-Kisā'ī outnumber other (phonetical, morphological or semantical) references, as it happens when he is quoted as transmitter of grammatical

²¹ For the exact references see the Appendix.

cal material. From among the 42 references 30 concern syntactic questions. This means the following topics.

1. verbal structures/ verbs and their objects (direct or indirect): Q. 2.48 (twice)
2. *bi'sa*: Q. 2.90 (twice), 4.38
3. '*an* / '*in* and conditionality: Q. 2.90, 2.229, 4.171, 19.91
4. '*an* + *naṣb* + *fa-* + *naṣb* structures: Q. 2.117
5. *naṣb* '*alā l-madh* (accepted or rejected): Q. 2.177 (thrice)
6. gender agreement: Q. 2.212, 16.66, 26.4
7. the structure *mā laka 'an*: Q. 2.246
8. '*inna*: Q. 5.69 (thrice), 10.62-63
9. '*illā*: Q. 5.73, 16.43
10. why *kitāb* is in *raf'* after the letters of the alphabet in the first '*āya*: Q. 7.2
11. '*imād* (*ḍamīr al-faṣl*): Q. 8.32, 112.1
12. the position of *man* in the structure *ḥasbuka llāhu wa-man ittaba'aka min al-mu'minīna*: Q. 8.64
13. *ḡawāb al-ḡazā'*: Q. 9.6
14. what happens if a *ḥāfiḍ* is not present: Q. 23.60
15. the evaluation of the structure *ḥāḍā yawmu* versus *ḥāḍā yawma...* Q. 82.19

When al-Kisāṭ is referred to as a reader, the same topics are treated with the addition of clause boundaries (*isti'nāf*), the verb form after *ḥattā* and after *fa-*.

3. al-Kisāṭ's methods in syntactic analysis: three cases

I do not wish to treat here those references where phonetical, morphological or purely semantical questions are discussed. I should only like to present a few examples from the syntactic topics mentioned above to examine the differences in approach between al-Farrā' and his master.

3.1. the regiment of '*inna*

3.1.1 Q. 10.62-63 (*Ma'ānī* I, 470-1): '*a-lā 'inna 'awliyā'a llāhi lā ḥawṣun 'alayhim wa-lā hum yaḥzanūna / alladīna 'āmanū wa-kānū yattaqūna*.

The thing to be explained is the position of *alladīna*. In the analysis of al-Farrā' it is *raf'*, because it is an attribute (*na't*) that — though refers to the *ism 'inna* — comes after the *ḥabar 'inna*. Similar examples from the Qur'ān are 34.48 (*Ma'ānī* II, 364) and 38.64, and al-Farrā' mentions that in all of the cases *naṣb* is permitted, though *raf'* is preferred.²² A further explanation is given concerning why this *na't* is given this ending. According to al-Farrā' the Arabs seeing the *ḥabar's* being in *raf'* supposed that the *ism* should also be in *raf'*, at least in meaning, so they acted accordingly (*Ma'ānī* I, 471).

al-Kisāṭ also considers that *alladī* is in *raf'*, but his explanation is rejected by al-Farrā' very sharply, though this definite rejection is seldom found in his work. According to al-Kisāṭ *alladīna* agrees with the inherent pronoun in *ḥabar 'inna*. "This is a mistake and is not permitted", says al-Farrā', arguing that in sentences of

²² Cf. *Ma'ānī* II, 364: *law qurī'a naṣban kāna ṣawāban 'illā 'anna l-qirā'a al-ḡayyida ar-raf'*.

the type "inna 'alḥāka qā'imun az-ẓarīfū" the attribute (*na't*) is a noun (*ism ẓāhir*) and as such cannot agree with a pronoun.

Another possible explanation of the *raf'* can be — according to al-Farrā' — if the whole phrase is separated from the previous phrase and so it is put into *raf'*: "wa-'in šī'ta ḡa'alta qawlahu ... raf'an".

For a better evaluation of the contemporary analysis of this sentence type let us have a look at the relevant passage in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (I, 286, Chapter 139). Sībawayhi accepts two kinds of explanation for the *raf'* ending in sentences like "inna zaydan muntaliqun al-'āqilu l-labību". The first explanation is the one rejected by al-Farrā'. Sībawayhi says: "yartaf'u ... 'alā l-ism al-muḍmar fī 'muntaliq' (ka-'annahu badal minhu)". While al-Kisā'ī says (*Ma'ānī* I, 471): "tābī'an li-l-ism al-muḍmar fī l-fī'l".²³ The difference in their explanations lies in one word, i.e. that while Sībawayhi says that it is *badal*, al-Kisā'ī says that it is *tābī'*. While al-Farrā' uses the term *na't*, and as such, this explanation is not permitted by him.²⁴

We might also try to argue that the words '*alā* and *tābī'an* - used by Sībawayhi and al-Kisā'ī respectively - mean the same, i.e. "in accordance /agreement with". So neither of the grammarians gives a precise definition at the start, but whereas Sībawayhi's explanation is further developed, so we know that he meant *badal* by this wording, al-Kisā'ī's words are interpreted by al-Farrā', when he interprets *tābī'* as *na't*. Now I do not want to say that al-Farrā' misinterpreted al-Kisā'ī's words, but be that as it may, he interpreted them.

Another important aspect of this interpretation is what becomes clearer and clearer if we examine all the examples where al-Farrā' quotes al-Kisā'ī's analyses. Namely that the picture emerging from these cases is that of a grammarian who favours linear explanations, i.e. he likes to explain an ending by somehow tying the word concerned to the previous one. In this special case *tābī'* itself seems to be a dummy category meaning neither *badal* nor *na't* but simply that it follows the previous noun and therefore it should wear the same ending. Just on the contrary, al-Farrā' shows himself to be a more speculative person, who in dubious cases would rather resort to some kind of semantic analysis.

Let us see another example to support this brief characterisation.

3.1.2 Q. 5.69: 'inna l-ladīna 'āmanū wa-l-ladīna hādū wa-ṣ-ṣābi'ūna wa-n-naṣārā. (*Ma'ānī* I, 310-2).²⁵

As this verse has been amply analyzed by Burton (1988:189-96), I should only like to draw attention to the explanations our two grammarians accepted.

There is no difference between al-Farrā' and al-Kisā'ī in the basic analysis of this phrase and in the attribution of the *raf'* ending of *aṣ-ṣābi'ūna* to that it is con-

²³ Where by *fī'l* the *ḥabar* 'inna is meant.

²⁴ The term *badal* is never used by al-Farrā', instead he uses *takrīr* and *tarḡama*. Some — e.g. the editors of the *Ma'ānī* (I, 471, fn. 3) — consider that he also uses *na't* in the meaning of *badal*, but I do not think that this would be the case here.

²⁵ This is a *maṣ'ala ḥilāfiyya*, see Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Inṣāf* I, 185-95, n° 23: *al-qawl fī l-'aṣf 'alā ism 'inna bi-r-raf qabla maḡī' al-ḥabar*, where we find that according to al-Kisā'ī it is always permissible, according to al-Farrā' it is permissible when the regiment of 'inna does not appear, while according to the Basran grammarians it is never permissible.

nected ('*utifa*) to *alladīna*. Also, both grammarians considered the *naṣb* after '*inna* to be generally weak, because it does not relate to the *ḥabar* - it was later described as a Kufan view.²⁶ The difference can be found in the further analysis. While according to al-Farrā', al-Kisā'ī generalizes this rule and allows the above usage in every sentence of this type, al-Farrā' restricts it to those where the *naṣb* after '*inna* does not appear formally (as it does not appear in *alladīna*). So while al-Kisā'ī accepts sentences like '*inna 'abdallāhi wa-zaydun qā'imāni*, al-Farrā' does not like it ('*lā 'astahibbu*') because of the overt appearance of '*rāb* in '*abdallāhi*. This goes parallel with other explanations of al-Farrā' concerning agreement, which I shall present later.

On the other hand, al-Kisā'ī had another explanation which again points to the linearity of his analysis. Accordingly he said: '*arfa'u ṣ-ṣābi'ūna 'alā 'itbā'ihī al-ism alladī fī ḥādū*'.²⁷ It is a very similar explanation to the one al-Kisā'ī gave in the previous case, but now its rejection by al-Farrā' is not on the basis of linguistic reasons but by the difference in meaning not supported by *tafsīr*.²⁸ Whether al-Kisā'ī explained this structure in both ways (with a difference in meaning!), or not, cannot be decided. Some sources²⁹ argue for only one or the other, but both point to the same direction: the linearity of his explanations and their rule of thumb character. He seems to stick to a very simple rule once set up without defining subgroups, special cases, exceptions and deviations. It should be emphasised, though, that what is now presented from al-Kisā'ī's views is through the filter of al-Farrā'.

3.2 Gender agreement

We have seen in the previous example (Q. 5.69) that the zero morpheme ending of *alladīna* gives two possibilities for al-Farrā', the consideration of the form and the meaning. This is also the case in al-Farrā' 's treatment of gender agreement. Analyzing Q. 2.212 '*zuyyina li-lladīna kafarū l-ḥayātu d-dunyā*', where instead of *zuyyināt* the masculine form agrees with *al-ḥayāt*, he gives (*Ma'ānī* I, 125-31) a rather intricate explanation of the whole network of gender agreement possibilities. The essence of which is that he accepts gender agreement on two bases: form and meaning. This Qur'ānic example belongs to the simpler cases where a masculine verb stands before a feminine noun that is derived from a verb, so the masculine ending of the verb refers to the masculine gender of the *maṣdar*. According to al-Farrā' (*Ma'ānī* I, 129; II, 109), agreement upon meaning is the case in Q. 16.66 as well: '*wa-inna lakum fī l-'an'āmi la-'ibratun nusqūm mimnā fī buṭūnihi* (and not: *buṭūniḥā*) because it refers to the singular form *na'am*, which is masculine. It is permissible — says al-Farrā' — because the singular is used in the meaning of the plural ... just like *laban* is used instead of '*albān* (*Ma'ānī* I, 129). al-Kisā'ī, however, had a different explanation for *buṭūnihi*, which is again more linear. He said: '*buṭūn mā ḍakamāhu*'. That is to say, the explanation is given by the elision of a clause at the place of the

²⁶ See Ibn al-'Anbārī, '*Inṣāf* I, 176-85, n° 22: *al-qawl fī rāfi' al-ḥabar ba'da 'inna l-mu'akkada*.

²⁷ In Burton's translation (1988:190): I take *ṣābi'ūn* to be nominative as co-ordinate with the nominative subject concealed in the verb *ḥādū*.

²⁸ According to which *alladīna ḥādū* refers to *al-yahūdīyya* and not to '*innā ḥudnā*.

²⁹ Cf. Ibn al-'Anbārī, '*Inṣāf* I, 176-85, for other sources see Burton 1988.

pronoun. This explanation, though does not agree with his, is accepted by al-Farrā' (*Ma'ānī* II, 109).

3.3 *mā* + *li-* + NP (+ 'an) + NEG: Q. 2.246: *wa-mā lanā 'allā nuqātīla...* (*Ma'ānī* I, 163-6).

The analysis of this phrase again points to the basic difference in the methods of al-Kisā'ī and al-Farrā'. The structure *mā* + *li-* + NP (+ 'an) + NEG occurs nine times in the Qur'ān with or without 'an.³⁰ According to al-Farrā' the primary structure is the one without 'an so the appearance of 'an has to be explained.

According to him the appearance of 'an is due to the allusion to a meaning which implies the use of 'an.³¹ More concretely it means that he relates the meaning of the sentence: *mā laka lā tuṣallī fī l-ḡamā'a* to *mā yamna'uka 'an tuṣallī*.

al-Kisā'ī does not operate with semantic substitutions and paraphrases but explains the appearance of 'an as a residue from *fī 'an*. He says: *huwa bimanzilāt qawlihi: mā lakum fī 'allā nuqātīlū*.

al-Farrā' - sticking to his theory that *mā laka* can always be replaced by *mana'a* rejects this explanation, arguing that it would lead to not well-formed sentences like: *'mā laka 'an qumta* and *'mā laka 'annaka qā'im*, both going back to *mā laka fī qiyāmika*, i.e. sentences referring to past and present as well as to future, whereas *mana'a* refers only to the future.

4. The evaluation of al-Kisā'ī's linguistic views

Let us finally consider how al-Farrā' evaluates al-Kisā'ī's linguistic views. We find three different ways which can be best characterised by three examples.

4.1 "Total agreement"

'inna llāha lā yastahyī 'an yaḍriba maṭalan mā ba'ūdatan fa-mā sawqahā (Q. 2.26, *Ma'ānī* I, 20-3)

Here, according to both linguists, the *naṣb* of *ba'ūdatan* and the following *fa-plus naṣb* can be best conceived as referring to a deleted, or better to say, supposed *bayna ... 'ilā* construction. This they see proved through comparison to other examples partly with *naṣb ... fa- ... 'ilā* structure and with similar meanings. The method of the comparison can essentially be called substitution, the key Arabic expressions being *taṣluḥ* or *lā taṣluḥ ... makāna ...*. Meaning, as usual, is given by a paraphrase.

³⁰ The Qur'ānic statistics is as follows:

with 'an (five times):
2.246: *wa-mā lanā 'allā nuqātīla*;
6.119: *wa-mā lakum 'allā ta'kulū*;
8.34: *wa-mā lahum 'allā yu'addibahum Allāh*;
14.12: *wa-mā lanā 'allā natawakkala*;
57.10: *wa-mā lakum 'allā nunṣiqū*;

without 'an (four times):
4.75: *wa-mā lakum lā tuqātīlūna*;
5.84: *wa-mā lanā lā nu'mīnu bi-llāh*;
36.22: *wa-mā lī lā 'a'budū*;
57.8: *wa-mā lakum lā tu'mīnūna bi-llāh*.

³¹ *wa-'ammā 'idā qāla /an/ fa-'innahu mimma ḡahaba 'ilā l-ma'nā alladī yahtamilu duḡilla /an/*. (*Ma'ānī* I, 163.)

4.2 "Agreement with some restrictions"

uḍkurū nī'matiya llatī 'an'amtū 'alaykum (Q. 2.40, *Mā'ānī* I, 28-30)

Both linguists agree in the possibility of both *-ī* and *-iya* before *'alif* and *lām* in this and similar cases. al-Kisā'ī, however, makes a further step and he holds that *-iya* (*naṣb*) is allowed even if it is followed by *hamzat al-qaṭ'*. This opinion is considered false generalization by al-Farrā'.

4.3 "Total disagreement" - typical in the case of syntactic explanations

wa-ttaqū yawman la taḡẓī nafsūn 'an nafsīn šay'an (Q. 2.48, *Mā'ānī* I, 31-2)

Here most linguists, among them al-Farrā', suppose a deleted *fīhi* after *yawman*. al-Kisā'ī, however, rejects this explanation saying that if it was true it would analogically mean the acceptability of sentences like *'anta lladī takallamtū*, omitting *fīhi*, which would lead to undesirable ambiguity and is not allowed "by the Arabs". Contrary to him al-Farrā' considers this analogy false showing the difference between the two examples: while *taḡẓī fīhi* can have an alternative in *taḡẓīhi*, such is not the case with *takallamtū fīhi*, since *takallamtuhu* does not mean the same. Here the difference seems again to lie in that while al-Farrā' works on the basis of a substitutional analysis al-Kisā'ī considers the example with a simple, and rigid formal generalization.

5. Conclusion

Analyzing these and further similar examples one can see that al-Farrā', having received his linguistic education from al-Kisā'ī and having internalized other teachings, tries to lean on his own insight, deciding in every case which is the right way of interpretation.

In an earlier study (Dévényi 1990) — where I compared the methods of analysis of Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' — I have already pointed to the high frequency of what I termed ad hoc semantic explanations presented by al-Farrā'. Now we saw that quite contrary to al-Farrā', al-Kisā'ī in his syntactic explanations tries to formulate the simplest rules based on the consecutiveness of linguistic elements and containing very few, if any, semantic considerations.

So it seems to me that while al-Farrā' accepts al-Kisā'ī as an informant and collector of grammatical material, in the concrete analysis of sentences he appears to introduce a lot of new, individual elements.

APPENDIX³²

1. al-Kisā'ī as a qārī'

1.1 al-Kisā'ī as a transmitter of readings "ḥaddaṭani K." (11)

II, 176.12 / Q. 20.15	II, 290.14 / Q.27.25
III, 35.6 / Q. 43.52	III, 55.10 / Q.46.25
III, 99.6 / Q. 53.22	III, 107.9 / Q.54.15
III, 127.17 / Q. 56.55	III, 166.6 / Q.66.3
III, 231.8 / Q. 79.11	III, 264.13 / Q.90.10
III, 290.18 / Q. 104.9	

1.2 al-Kisā'ī's own readings (27)

I, 133.13 / Q. 2.214	qara'a bi-r-raḥḥa ṭumma raḡa'a
I, 155.6 / Q. 2.236 [19.34]	raḡa'ahu Ḥamza wa-K.
I, 200.3 / Q. 3.18	wa-kāna l-K. yaṣṭaḥūhumā kiltayhimā
I, 202.12 / Q. 3.21	wa-qad qara'a bihā K. dahran "yuḡāṭihūna" ṭumma raḡa'a
I, 224.12 / Q. 3.79	wa-qara'a K. wa-Ḥamza "lu'allimūna"
I, 310.1 / Q. 5.45	wa-qad naṣaba Ḥamza wa-raḡa'a K.
II, 100.5 / Q. 16.40	wa-kān K. yaruddu r-raḥḥa
II, 132.1 / Q. 17.102	qara'a K. bi-r-raḥḥa
II, 188.8 / Q. 20.81	al-Farrā' bi-ḡ-ḡamm miṭla K. su'ila 'anhu fa-qālahu
II, 260.4 / Q. 24.58	wa-K. yaqra'u
II, 281.13 / Q. 26.137	wa-ḡirā'at K. "ḡalq al-'awwalūn"
II, 296.7 / Q. 27.49	wa-'inna K. yaqra'u bi-t-tā'
II, 315.17 / Q. 29.25	wa-raḡa'a nās minhum K. bi-'iḡāfa
II, 332.15 / Q. 32.24	"bi-mā ṣabarū" wa-qara'ahā K. wa-Ḥamza "li-mā ṣabarū"
II, 365.1 / Q. 34.52	qara'a ... wa-K. bi-l-ḡamz yaḡāḡūnahū min aṣ-ṣay' al-baṭ'
II, 398.4 / Q. 38.3	'aqifu 'alā "lāta" bi-t-tā' wa-K. yaqifu bi-l-hā'
II, 400.13 / Q. 38.15	wa-ḡamma ... wa-K.
III, 63.11 / Q. 47.26	wa-ttaba'u ... wa-K. wa-huwa maṣḡar
III, 93.5 / Q. 52.28	K. yaṣṭaḥu "annahu"
III, 93.6 / Q. 52.28	K. qara'ahu
III, 93.12 / Q. 52.37	wa-qara'a K. bi-s-sūn
III, 97.14 / Q. 53.19	K. yaqifu 'alayhā bi-l-hā'
III, 119.2 / Q. 55.56	wa-kān K. yaqra'u wāḡidatan bi-raḥḥa al-mīm
III, 209.16 / Q. 75.9	wa-huwa qawl K.
III, 226.16 / Q. 77.36	kaḡā kāna yaqra'u K.
III, 229.10 / Q. 78.28	wa-kān K. yuḡaḡifu "lā yasma'ūna fihā..."

³² References are given in the following order: Volume, page.line / Q. sūra. 'āya. al-Kisā'ī is abbreviated as K. The number of occurrences is given in brackets. Short quotations are given for orientation except in cases introduced by "anṣada" and "ḥaddaṭa".

III, 254.16 / Q. 86.4 *K. kāna yuḥaffifihā*

2. al-Kisāʾī as a grammarian (104)

2.1 Collector of grammatical material

2.1.1 "kalām al-ʿarab": (38)

Phonology (3)

- I, 29.12 / Q. 2.40 *zaʿama K. 'anna l-ʿarab tastahibbu naṣb al-yā'*
 II, 144.16 / Q. 18.38 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahu samiʿa l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 II, 145.1 / Q. 18.38 *qāla K. samiʿtu baʿd al-ʿarab yaqūlu*

Morphology (13)

- I, 149.12 / Q. 2.233 *wa-zaʿama K. 'anna min al-ʿarab man yaqūlu*
 I, 212.7 / Q. 3.39 *wa-rawāhā K. 'an ḡayrihim*
 I, 232.15 / Q. 3.120 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahu samiʿa baʿd 'ahl al-ʿāliya*
 I, 19.14 / Q. 11.59 *wa-samiʿa K. baʿd al-ʿarab yaqūlu*
 II, 36.1 / Q. 12.5 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahu samiʿa 'aʿrābiyyan*
 II, 106.16 / Q. 16.59 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 II, 150.9 / Q. 18.59 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahu samiʿa*
 II, 243.3 / Q. 23.110 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 II, 305.17 / Q. 28.28 *wa-samiʿa K. 'aʿrābiyyan yaqūlu*
 II, 325.14 / Q. 30.39 *wa-samiʿa K. al-ʿarab taqūlu*
 II, 389.7 / Q. 37.94 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahu lā yaʿrifuhā*
 III, 137.3 / Q. 57.26 *wa-samiʿa K. al-ʿarab taqūlu*
 III, 292.13 / Q. 105.3 *wa-qad qāla baʿd an-naḥwiyyūn wa-huwa K. kuntu*
'asmaʿu n-naḥwiyyūn

Syntax (20)

- I, 23.6 / Q. 2.26 *qāla K. samiʿtu 'aʿrābiyyan wa-raʾā l-hilāl*
 I, 23.8 / Q. 2.26 *wa-ḥakā K. 'an baʿd al-ʿarab*
 I, 134.5 / Q. 2.214 *fa-zaʿama K. 'annahu samiʿa l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 I, 134.14 / Q. 2.214 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 I, 164.9 / Q. 2.246 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 I, 233.4 / Q. 3.121 *qāla K. samiʿtu baʿd al-ʿarab yaqūlu*
 I, 282.4 / Q. 4.90 *wa-samiʿa K. baʿduhum yaqūlu*
 I, 424.2 / Q. 9.7 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahu samiʿa l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 II, 15.7 / Q. 11.41 *wa-samiʿa K. 'aʿrābiyyan yaqūlu baʿd al-ṣṭr*
 II, 20.10 / Q. 11.68 *qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu*
 II, 81.9 / Q. 14.47 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahum yuʿjinūn an-naṣb*
 II, 320.5 / Q. 30.4 *wa-samiʿa K. baʿd hanī ʿasad yaqraʾuhā*
 II, 423.5 / Q. 39.58 *wa- qāla K. samiʿtu min al-ʿarab*
 III, 111.4 / Q. 54.54 *wa-zaʿama K. 'annahu samiʿa l-ʿarab yaqūlūna*

III, 111.12 / Q. 54.50	<i>qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu</i>
III, 112.10 / Q. 55.6	<i>qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu</i>
III, 124.13 / Q. 56.26	<i>wa-samiʿa K. al-ʿarab yaqūlūna</i>
III, 243.10 / Q. 81.26	<i>qāla K. samiʿtu l-ʿarab taqūlu</i>
III, 245.1 / Q. 82.19	<i>zaʿama K. ʿanna l-ʿarab tuʿīr ar-raṣʿa</i>
III, 298.18 / Q. 111.4	<i>samiʿahā K. min al-ʿarab</i>

Semantics (2)

I, 59.15 / Q. 2.88	<i>wa-ḥakā K. ʿan al-ʿarab</i>
I, 323.1 / Q. 5.105	<i>wa-zaʿama K. ʿannahu samiʿa</i>

1.1.2. "šawāhid siʿriyya": wa-ʿanšadani l-Kisāʿī (24)

Phonology (2)

I, 438.5 / Q. 9.38	II, 29.6 / Q.11.111
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Morphology (5)

I, 91.5 / Q. 2.150	I, 174.7 / Q.2.260
I, 204.8 / Q. 3.26	I, 212.8 / Q.3.39
II, 398.10 / Q. 38.5	

Syntax (16)

I, 129.3 / Q. 2.212	I, 134.7 / Q.2.214
I, 233.5 / Q. 3.121	I, 233.10 / Q.3.121
I, 262.9 / Q. 4.26	I, 365.11 / Q.6.154
I, 401.7 / Q. 7.193	I, 410.10 / Q.8.32
I, 427.8 / Q. 9.19	II, 37.7 / Q.12.10
II, 41.15 / Q. 12.26	II, 131.5 / Q.17.88
II, 320.6 / Q. 30.4	II, 352.8 / Q.34.6
II, 376.1 / Q. 36.30	III, 45.11 / Q.45.5

Semantics (1)

I, 80.9 / Q. 2.132

2.2 al-Kisāʿī's own grammatical views (42)

Morphology (10)

I, 325.3 / Q. 5.110	<i>wa-qāla K. fāʿaltuka, wa-hiya taḡūzu</i>
I, 394.14 / Q. 7.150	<i>fa-qāla K. ma ʿadri laʿallahum ʿarādū</i>
I, 419.1 / Q. 8.72	<i>wa-kāna K. yaftahūhā wa-yadhabu bihā</i>
I, 469.17 / Q. 10.58	<i>wa-kāna K. yuʿību qawlahum "fa-l-tafrahū"</i>

II,	20.5	/ Q.	11.61	<i>fa-'ahada bi-dālika K. fa-'ağrāhā fī n-naṣb</i>
II,	152.4	/ Q.	18.59	<i>wa-kāna K. yaqūlu humā 'maf'ul' nādir</i>
II,	176.14	/ Q.	20.15	<i>qāla K. wa-l-fuqahā' yaqūlūna</i>
II,	188.7	/ Q.	20.81	<i>wa-K. ḡa'alahū 'alā l-wuqū'</i>
II,	236.5	/ Q.	23.36	<i>qāl al-Farrā' wa-ḥūra K. al-hā', wa-'anā 'aqifu</i>
III,	280.2	/ Q.	96.17/8	<i>wa-qāla K. bi-'ahara wāḥid 'az-zabāniya' 'zibnī'</i>

Syntax (30)

I,	32.1	/ Q.	2.48	<i>wa-kāna K. lā yuḡṡzu 'idmār aṣ-ṣifa fī ṣ-ṣalāt</i>
I,	32.10	/ Q.	2.48	<i>wa-laysa yudhīhu 'alā K. mā 'adḥala 'alā nafsīhi</i>
I,	56.14	/ Q.	2.90	<i>wa-kāna K. yaqūlu dālika</i>
I,	57.13	/ Q.	2.90	<i>wa-qad 'ağāzahu K. fī kitābihi 'alā hādā</i>
I,	58.7	/ Q.	2.90	<i>wa-kāna K. yaqūlu fī "an" hiya fī mawḍi' ḥafḍ</i>
I,	75.4	/ Q.	2.117	<i>wa-'in kāna K. lā yuḡṡzu r-raṣ' fīhimā</i>
I,	107.1	/ Q.	2.177	<i>wa-qāla fīhi K. "wa-l-muqīmīn" mawḍi'uhu ḥafḍ</i>
I,	107.7	/ Q.	2.177	<i>imtanā'a min maḍhab al-madhī, ya'nī K. alladī fassartu laka</i>
I,	107.11	/ Q.	2.177	<i>wa-l-kalām 'aktarūhu 'alā mā waṣafa K. wa-lākinna l-'arab 'idā taṭāwalat aṣ-ṣifa</i>
I,	129.12	/ Q.	2.212	<i>wa-qad kāna K. yaḍhabu bi-taḍkīr 'al-'an-'ām"</i>
I,	148.8	/ Q.	2.229	<i>wa-kāna K. yaqūlu mawḍi'uhu ḥafḍ</i>
I,	165.5	/ Q.	2.246	<i>wa-qāla K. fī 'idḥālihim "an" fī "mā laka"</i>
I,	268.6	/ Q.	4.38	<i>wa-kāna K. yaqūlu 'uḍmiru 'ḡāda bihinna 'abyātan"</i>
I,	296.9	/ Q.	4.171	<i>wa-kāna K. yaqūlu hiya fī mawḍi' ḥafḍ</i>
I,	311.3	/ Q.	5.69	<i>kāna K. yuḡṡzu lī-ḍu'fī 'inna</i>
I,	311.5	/ Q.	5.69	<i>laysa hādā bi-ḥuḡḡa lī-K. fī 'iḡāzat 'inna 'amran wa-zayd</i>
I,	312.1	/ Q.	5.69	<i>qāla K. 'arfa'u "ṣ-ṣābi'ūn"</i>
I,	317.12	/ Q.	5.73	<i>fa-ra'aytu K. qad 'ağāza ḥafḍahu</i>
I,	369.10	/ Q.	7.2	<i>wa-qad qāla K. rafa'ū "kitābun 'unzila 'ilayka"</i>
I,	410.4	/ Q.	8.32	<i>wa-kāna K. yuḡṡzu dālika</i>
I,	418.4	/ Q.	8.66	<i>wa-qad qāla hādā l-qawl K. wa-rafa'a "man"</i>
I,	422.11	/ Q.	9.6	<i>wa-kāna K. yuḡṡzu taqḍimat an-naṣb fī ḡawāb al-ḡazā'</i>
I,	471.3	/ Q.	10.62/3	<i>wa-kāna K. yaqūlu ḡa'altuhu ya'nī an-na'f tābī'an lī-l-ism</i>
II,	101.4	/ Q.	16.43	<i>wa-ra'aytu K. yaḡ'alu "ilā" ma'a l-ḡahḍ</i>
II,	109.1	/ Q.	16.66	<i>wa-qāla K. "nusqtkum mimmi fī butūnihi"</i>
II,	173.9	/ Q.	19.91	<i>wa-K. kāna yaqūlu mawḍi' "an" ḥafḍ</i>
II,	238.13	/ Q.	23.60	<i>fa-'inna K. kāna yaqūlu huwa ḥafḍ</i>
II,	277.10	/ Q.	26.4	<i>wa-qad qāla K. hādā bi-manzilāt qawl aṣ-ṣā'ir</i>
III,	245.5	/ Q.	82.19	<i>wa-l'aktarū mā fassara K.</i>
III,	299.10	/ Q.	112.1	<i>wa-qad qāla K. fīhi qawlan lā 'arāhu ṣay'an</i>

Semantics (2)

I,	103.11	/ Q.	2.175	<i>qāla K. sa'alanī qādī l-yaman</i>
II,	377.8	/ Q.	36.32	<i>wa-kāna K. yanfī hādā l-qawl</i>

3. Other grammarians quoted in the *Maʿānī*

3.1 Named persons

- III, 242.7 / Q. 81.17 *'Abū l-Bilād an-Nahwī* yunšidu fīhi
- II, 79.4-5 / Q. 14.44 *wa-kāna šayḥ lanā yuqālu lahu l-'Alā' b. Sayāba* wa-huwa alladī 'allama Mu'adān al-Harrā' wa-'aṣṣābahu yaqūlu
- II, 42.2 / Q. 12.26 *za'ama l-Qāsim b. Ma'n* 'anna bi'sa wa-zi'na 'ardāni mahmūzatāni
- I, 13.12 / Q. 2.7 *wa-za'ama l-Muḥaddal [aḍ-Ḍabbī]* 'anna 'Āsim b. 'Abī n-Naḡīd kāna yanšubuhā
- II, 182.13 / Q. 20.61 *marra l-Farazdaq bi-'Abdallāh b. 'Abī 'Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī an-Nahwī*
- II, 183.2 / Q. 20.61 *fa-qāla 'Abdallāh li-l-Farazdaq:* 'alāma rafa'ta
- I, 127.6 / Q. 2.212 *wa-'anšadanī Yūnus ya'nī an-nahwī al-baṣrī 'an al-'arab*
- II, 37.11 / Q. 12.10 *wa-'anšadanī Yūnus al-baṣrī [li-Ḡarīr]*
- I, 9.10 / Q. 36.2 *wa-qad qara'ahā raḡul min an-nahwiyyīn wa-huwa 'Abū Ḡāfar ar-Ru'āsī*
- II, 182.13 / Q. 20.61 *ḥaddaṭanī 'Abū Ḡāfar ar-Ru'āsī 'an 'Abī 'Amr*
- II, 289.15 / Q. 27.22 *wa-za'ama r-Ru'āsī 'annahu sa'ala 'Abā 'Amr*
- II, 357.1 / Q. 34.14 *wa-za'ama lī 'Abū Ḡāfar ar-Ru'āsī 'annahu sa'ala 'anhā 'Abā 'Amr*
- II, 371.6 / Q. 21.103 *ḥaddaṭanī r-Ru'āsī 'an 'Abī 'Amr*
- III, 61.5 / Q. 47.18 *ḥaddaṭanī 'Abū Ḡāfar ar-Ru'āsī*
- III, 292.9 / Q. 105.3 *wa-za'ama r-Ru'āsī wa-kāna tiqa ma'mūnan 'annahu samī'a*

3.2 Unnamed persons

- II, 312.6 / Q. 28.82 *'aḥbarantī šayḥ min 'ahl al-baṣra qāla samī'ū 'a'rābiyyatan taqūlu li-zawḡihā*
- I, 32.3 / Q. 2.48 *wa-qāla ḡayruhu [= ḡayr al-Kisā'i] min 'ahl al-baṣra: lā nuḡṡū*
- I, 8.5 / Q. 1.7 *ba'd man lā ya'rīfu l-'arabiyyata [= 'Abū 'Ubayda] 'inna ma'nā "ḡayr"*
- I, 18.5 / Q. 2.20 *ba'd an-nahwiyyīn: 'innamā kasartu l-ḥā'*
- I, 89.12 / Q. 2.150 *wa-qad qāla ba'd an-nahwiyyīn [= 'Abū 'Ubayda]*
- I, 107.5 / Q. 2.177 *wa-ba'dūhum*
- I, 107.5 / Q. 2.177 *wa-ba'dūhum*

- I, 165.10 / Q. 2.246 *wa-qad qāla ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn: hiya mimma 'uḍmirat fīhi l-wāw*
- I, 171.13 / Q. 2.258 *wa-qad yaqūlu ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn: 'innā naṣabnā "qādirīn"*
- I, 203.4 / Q. 3.26 *wa-qad qāla ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn [= al-Ḥalīl]: 'innamā naṣabtu*
- I, 245.12 / Q. 3.159 *wa-qad waḡḡahahu ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn 'ilā*
- I, 260.8 / Q. 4.24 *wa-qad qāla ba'd 'ahl an-naḥw*
- I, 278.17 / Q. 4.81 *wa-qad yaqūlu ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn wa-ḡukira fīhā l-qitāl*
- I, 307.7 / Q. 5.38 *wa-'innamā ḡakartu ḡālika li-'anna min an-naḥwiyyīn man kāna lā yuḡḡzuhu 'illā fī ḡalq al-'insān*
- I, 321.9 / Q. 5.101 *wa-qad qāla fīhā ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn*
- II, 7.4 / Q. 11.7 *wa-qad yufassiruhu ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn*
- II, 80.11 / Q. 14.47 *wa-kāna ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn yanṣubu "l-layl"*
- II, 128.2 / Q. 17.72 *wa-qad talqā ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn yaqūlu: 'uḡḡzuhu*
- II, 255.16 / Q. 24.41 *wa-qad qāla ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn: zaydān ḡārabtahu*
- II, 287.13 / Q. 27.11 *wa-qad qāla ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn inna "'illā"*
- II, 312.7 / Q. 28.82 *wa-qad yaḡḡhabu ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn*
- III, 205.2 / Q. 74.36 *kāna ba'd an-naḥwiyyīn yaqūlu: 'in naṣabta qawlahu*

3.3 Groups of grammarians

- I, 358.4 / Q. 6.137 *kāna yaqūluhu naḥwiyyū 'ahl al-ḡiḡāz wa-lam naḡīd miḡlahu fī l-'arabiyya*
- I, 33.17 / Q. 2.42 *bi-l-wāw naṣban 'alā mā yaqūlu n-naḥwiyyīn min aṣ-ṣarf*
- I, 80.15 / Q. 2.132 *wa-qawl an-naḥwiyyīn: 'innamā 'arāda "an"*
- I, 107.3 / Q. 2.177 *wa-kāna n-naḥwiyyīn yaqūlūn "al-muḡḡnīn" mardūda*
- I, 134.4 / Q. 2.214 *'akṭar an-naḥwiyyīn yanṣubūna l-fī' ba'da "ḡattā"*
- I, 235.15 / Q. 3.142 *alladī yusammīhi n-naḥwiyyīn aṣ-ṣarf*
- II, 74.14 / Q. 14.18 *wa-mimmā yarwīhi naḥwiyyūnā l-'awwalūna 'anna l-'arab taqūlu*
- II, 81.12 / Q. 14.47 *naḥwiyyū 'ahl al-madīna yunṣidūna qawlahu*
- II, 346.2 / Q. 33.50 *maḡḡd al-qaf alladī tasma'uhu min an-naḥwiyyīn*
- II, 352.12 / Q. 34.6 *ḡāḡā wa-lā yuḡḡzuhu ḡayruhu min an-naḥwiyyīn*
- III, 292.13 / Q. 105.3 *wa-qad qāla ... al-Kisā'ī: kuntu 'asma'u an-naḥwiyyīn yaqūlūna*
- III, 207.3 / Q. 75.1 *kāna kaṭīr min an-naḥwiyyīn*

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VARIATION DIALECTALE ET ARABOPHONIE: QUELQUES MODES D'INTERPRÉTATION DES FAITS

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En préparant un article consacré à l'étude de quelques traits anciens et modernes de variation dialectale en arabe pour le présent congrès, nous nous sommes aperçu, en consultant les atlas linguistiques, encore trop peu nombreux, qu'un travail préliminaire était indispensable: la science dialectologique a réalisé des progrès remarquables au cours des vingt dernières années. Ces progrès sont dus en partie à l'analyse plus affinée et à l'interprétation plus rigoureuse des atlas dialectaux anciens et modernes. Une véritable dialectologie historique est en train de se développer comme discipline autonome. On citera ici un ouvrage fondamental: *Historical Dialectology, Regional and Social* édité par Jacek Fisiak en 1988. Cet ouvrage nous paraît remarquable notamment par le fait qu'il utilise des procédures d'analyse très semblables à travers un ensemble varié de groupes linguistiques (roman, germanique et slave surtout). Dans le domaine hamito-sémitique hélas, on constate que l'arabe est complètement absent, et que la seule langue qui y tienne une place est le copte, langue morte comme on le sait. Pour combler cette lacune, il nous a semblé indispensable d'examiner plusieurs atlas dialectaux arabes publiés, notamment à la lumière des procédés d'analyse mis en oeuvre dans l'*Historical Dialectology*, afin d'en vérifier l'applicabilité éventuelle au domaine arabe. Il va de soi qu'une difficulté essentielle dans les comparaisons entre dialectologie européenne et arabe réside dans les structures sociales différentes, le nomadisme étant exceptionnel dans les sociétés européennes alors qu'il est présent partout dans les sociétés arabes. Compte tenu de ces différences intrinsèques, on examinera successivement quelques-uns de ces procédés d'analyse tels qu'ils peuvent être mis en oeuvre en dialectologie arabe. Le présent travail n'a pas la prétention d'être exhaustif.

1. Déplacement ou création de nouvelles isoglosses à la suite de l'adoption des traits d'un dialecte plus prestigieux par un autre, considéré comme moins prestigieux

Ce processus a toute sa validité en arabe également, mais il doit, en dialectologie européenne comme en dialectologie arabe, être nuancé.¹ Le prestige dont jouit un dialecte n'est pas la seule cause d'adoption. Au Maghreb bédouin, si les parlers hilaliens de type H_1 (= A de Cantineau dans la terminologie que Ph. Marçais utilise pour son article *Algérie* de l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam, cf. carte 1)² ont été progressivement adoptés par des bédouins ayant des parlers de type H_2 et H_3 , la raison ne tient pas au prestige des locuteurs de H_1 par rapport à ceux de H_2 et H_3 (D et E de Cantineau), mais au fait que les locuteurs de H_1 sont des pasteurs nomades bel-

¹ Cf. Fisiak 1988:41-44.

² Dans Cantineau 1941.

liqueux en présence de petits agriculteurs et de semi-nomades. C'est un rapport de force de type social qui a joué ici (Marçais 1960-:390). On voit que la notion de variation *sociale*ment conditionnée se substitue à celle d'"adoption pour des raisons de prestige".

2. Diffusion sans adoption pour des raisons de prestige

On peut avoir une diffusion d'un parler aux dépens d'un autre sans qu'il y ait adoption pour des raisons de prestige quand un système plus simple s'impose à d'autres plus complexes.³

2.1 Dans les dialectes anciens

Avec toutes les précautions qui s'imposent dans l'appréciation des données dialectales qui nous sont fournies par les grammairiens arabes anciens, il nous semble qu'on pourrait citer ici l'exemple d'un parler ancien du Nadjd, celui des Ṭayyi' (le group du Nadjd comprenant aussi le parler des 'Asad et des Tamīm), qui a dû connaître, en partie au moins et pendant une durée limitée (celle de la formation de la koinè dite "poético-coranique" avant sa période de stabilité définitive où la part hidjazienne deviendra plus importante pour des raisons cette fois de prestige religieux), une phase de diffusion par simplification aux dépens d'autres dialectes à systèmes plus complexes: cette simplicité relative du parler des anciens Ṭayyi' s'est manifestée notamment de deux manières: au verbe défectueux avec ses deux paradigmes complexes en *ramā* et *baqiya* correspondait in seul modèle *ramā/baqā*. Au pronom relatif complexe et variable '*alladī*' correspondait une forme invariable en *ḏū*⁴ (cartes 2 et 3).

2.2 Dans les dialectes modernes⁵

D'après R. Jakobson, les parlers qui fonctionnent sur une aire étendue et s'approchent du rôle de koinè ont des systèmes phonémiques plus simples que ceux des parlers à usage purement local.⁶ On sait qu'en Orient, le dialecte du Caire tend à s'imposer de plus en plus comme koinè interdialectale. Examinons son système phonologique (Tomiche 1964:14):

1. Consonnes

- bilabiales: /b/, /m/, /w/
- labiodentales: /f/
- dentales-alvéolaires: /t/ - /t̪/, /d/ - /d̪/, /s/ - /s̪/, /z/ - /z̪/, /l/ - /n/
- prépalatales: /ʃ/, /t̪ʃ/ - /t̪ʃ/, /y/
- postpalatales: /k/ - /g/
- vélaires: /ħ/ - /ġ/
- pharyngales: /ħ/ - /ʕ/
- laryngales: /ʔ/ - /h/

³ Cf. Fisiak 1988:44 et sv.

⁴ Rabin 1951: 198 cartes n° 18, et 204, cartes n° 20.

⁵ Cf. Fisiak 1988:47 et sv.

⁶ Cf. Fisiak 1988:47 (2.2).

Ces phonèmes peuvent connaître les réalisations phonétiques suivantes:

- bilabiales: [p], [b], [m], [w]
- labiodentales: [f]
- dentales-alvéolaires: [l], [n]
- prépalatales: [ʃ], [ʒ], [y]
- postpalatales: [k], [g], [ŋ], [ŋ]
- vélaires: [ħ] - [ʕ]
- pharyngales: [ħ] - [ʕ]
- laryngales: [ʔ] - [H]

On voit de suite que toutes les réalisations phonétiques résultent d'une *emphatisation* possible de la consonne. Ce phénomène mis à part, les seules variantes phonétiques sont [ʒ] et [ŋ].

2. Voyelles

Le parler du Caire a un système de 3 voyelles brèves:

/a/
/e/ /o/

et un système de 5 voyelles longues:

/ā/
/ē/ /ō/
/ī/ /ū/

Les variantes phonétiques des voyelles brèves sont:

[a]	[e] [o]	[ə]
	[u]	
	[i]	

vélarisation emphatisation voyelle de disjonction

Les variantes phonétiques des voyelles longues sont (Tomiche 1964:47-62):

[ā] - vélarisation	[ī] - emphatisation
[ū] - emphatisation	[ō] - emphatisation

A l'exception de [ə], toutes les variantes phonétiques résultent de phénomènes de *vélarisation* ou d'*emphatisation* des voyelles.

On constate donc que le système phonémique du parler du Caire est un système simple et on peut résumer sa description de la manière suivante: presque tous les phonèmes consonantiques et vocaliques peuvent avoir des variantes emphatisées ou vélarisées; on y trouve en plus deux variantes consonantiques autonomes [ʒ], [ŋ] et une seule variante vocalique autonome [ə].

Si nous comparons le système phonémique du Caire à celui d'un parler arabe à usage strictement local, qui ne joue aucun rôle de koinè, celui de la Tihāma au Yémen central (Greenman 1979), nous constatons que:

- le phonème /a/ a trois variantes phonétiques

[ā] "low back unrounded"

[ā] "low central"

[ē] "appears only as a variant of the 3rd feminine sing. bound pronoun /-hā/ > [hā] ~ [-hē]" (Greenman 1979:52).

- Alors que dans le parler-koinè du Caire, les deux anciennes diphtongues /ay/ et /aw/ sont réduites à /ē/ et /ō/, dans le parler yéménite rural de la Tihāma cen-

trale, l'ancienne diphtongue /aw/ n'est rendue par la variante [ō] que dans certain mots: [lyōm] "aujourd'hui"; [dōm] "le palmier dom"; en dehors de ces 2 cas, elle se maintient /aw/ comme en arabe classique. On aperçoit déjà la complexité du système phonémique auquel on a affaire ici. Les choses se compliquent encore davantage pour les variantes phonétiques de l'ancienne diphtongue /ay/: "Among rural speakers (...), there are two allophones which appear to be related to a subtle perception of 'things urban' as opposed to 'things rural'. A rather clear example may be seen in the pronunciations of the names of regional towns. Three of the larger centers are rendered with the 'urban' realization of /ay/, i.e. [ē]: [l̥hōdēdah], [bētElf̥aq̥h̥], [l̥h̥ōsēniyah]. Three small villages, on the other hand, are rendered [mq̥q̥tay], [mdUrayhami] and [mt̥haytEh]" (Greenman 1979:53). Le parler périphérique à usage purement régional est complexe, le parler central à valeur de koïnè est simple. La règle de Jakobson semble donc s'appliquer également au domaine arabophone (carte 4).

3. Diffusion dans des aires d'innovation linguistique

3.1 Raisons économiques

Dans l'atlas dialectal égyptien de M. Woidich et P. Behnstedt, on constate qu'il y a une aire d'innovation allongée en forme de couloir dans le sens Le Caire-Damiette. Cette aire présente une remarquable homogénéité des traits linguistiques qui se traduit par un alignement sur le modèle cairote. Pourtant, on s'attendrait plutôt à ce que les zones de Damiette et de Rosette soient influencées par le parler d'Alexandrie, car elles appartenaient à l'ancienne voie de trafic commercial d'Alexandrie. Mais, du fait que le port d'Alexandrie a perdu une grande partie de son importance commerciale au XVI^e s., au profit de Rosette et de Damiette, il s'est créé une nouvelle voie de trafic commercial Le Caire - Damiette et on a une aire dialectale d'innovation qui longe ce nouveau couloir commercial égyptien.⁷ (carte 5 et 6)

3.2 Raisons géographiques (environnement)

Au Yémen,⁸ on aperçoit sur une carte de l'atlas dialectal de P. Behnstedt un couloir en forme d'entonnoir qu'on pourrait prendre pour une aire d'innovation due à des raisons sociales (dialecte de prestige p. ex.): en réalité, ce couloir avec sa *Trichterform* correspond à une donnée de l'environnement naturel: il s'agit d'une étroite vallée où les habitants de la Tihāma montagneuse se sont installés, seule aire d'extension possible pour eux, car elle est limitée par les zones montagneuses non-tihamiennes voisines (zones où domine le *gāf*). (carte 7)

4. Le problème des enclaves: aires d'innovation ou de vestige linguistique

4.1 Enclave: aire d'innovation linguistique

Dans l'atlas des dialectes égyptiens de P. Behnstedt et M. Woidich on a⁹ une

⁷ Behnstedt-Woidich 1985:31-32; cartes 189 et 443.

⁸ Behnstedt 1985:7 et 41, carte 1.

⁹ Behnstedt-Woidich 1985:carte 290.

enclave (carte 8) qui correspond à une aire d'innovation dans la finale de la 3e pers. du sing. de l'accompli en *-it* (due à l'influence du parler cairote) au milieu de l'aire dialectale d'Asyūt où il y a prédominance de la finale en *-at*.

4.2 Enclave: aire de vestiges linguistiques

Au contraire de M. Woidich et P. Behnstedt qui fournissent eux-mêmes l'interprétation des faits dialectaux représentés dans leurs atlas, J. Cantineau, bien qu'il nous ait donné un remarquable atlas des parlers du Ḥōrān, ne donne pas directement une interprétation des isoglosses qu'on y trouve. Cependant je voudrais montrer ici que, grâce à son étude générale très approfondie de l'histoire, du peuplement, de l'organisation et de la vie économique de la région du Ḥōrān,¹⁰ on peut interpréter les faits linguistiques contenus dans son atlas d'une manière précise:

J. Cantineau signale dans cette étude que la région du Ḥōrān apparaît comme particulièrement complexe au niveau du peuplement et donc des parlers. On y trouve des parlers de villageois, de semi-nomades et de nomades. Mais le Ḥōrān est avant tout "une contrée de paysans sédentaires adonnés à la culture des céréales et agglomérés en villages" (Cantineau 1946:40). Déjà pendant l'époque de l'administration turque, des villages de ces paysans ḥōrānais ont été désertés à cause des incursions de nomades et de la faiblesse tracassière de l'administration turque. Plus tard, on assiste à l'immigration des Drūz dans la montagne ḥōrānaise: c'est alors que des groupes de paysans ḥōrānais, chassés de leurs terres de montagne par les Drūz, vont s'installer dans les villages de la plaine. Mais, note J. Cantineau, "malgré leurs efforts, les Drūz ne sont pas arrivés à vider la montagne de toute l'ancienne population ḥōrānaise. Les musulmans sont presque tous partis, *les chrétiens se sont mieux maintenus et constituent par endroits des agglomérations assez fortes*" (Cantineau 1946:46). La carte 9 donne les isoglosses correspondant à la répartition des phonèmes /k/ et /ġ/ (= ar. classique *kāf*) dans le Ḥōrān. Si on compare la carte 9 à la carte 10 bis (répartition des religions dans le Ḥōrān), on s'aperçoit que les enclaves où /ġ/ apparaît sont des aires-vestiges (*relic areas*) correspondant à des villages chrétiens restés isolés au milieu des aires occupées par les Drūz sédentaires immigrés et des musulmans nomades. A noter que dans ce cas, l'élément religieux en soi n'explique rien, mais il faut opposer la *stabilité* des populations chrétiennes dans cette région à l'*instabilité* des populations musulmanes même sédentaires (qui se sont déplacées à l'arrivée des Drūz) d'une part et à celle des populations musulmanes nomades d'autre part. Ce facteur de stabilité des populations chrétiennes explique le maintien dans cette aire de caractères linguistiques villageois anciens du Ḥōrān, telle la prononciation /ġ/ du *kāf* de l'ancienne koinè littéraire. De même, la carte 10 donne les isoglosses de répartition de la distinction des genres aux 2e et 3e personnes du pluriel dans le pronom personnel et le verbe (types *kom/kon*, *hom/hon*).

On voit très nettement que l'aire où il y a absence de distinction des genres à ces personnes (absence représentée par le chiffre 1 sur la carte) correspond à une aire d'extension (*focus area*) des Drūz à partir du Ḡōlān. Au milieu de cette aire d'extension des Drūz, les enclaves qui ont maintenu la distinction des genres (repré-

¹⁰ Voir Cantineau 1946 et 1940, en particulier les cartes 4, 14, 20 et 32.

sentées par le chiffre 2 sur la carte) sont des territoires chrétiens (Hīt et 'Anz par exemple) qui ont résisté à l'envahissement des Drūz.¹¹

5. Variantes conditionnées par des facteurs psycho-sociologiques: l'attitude à l'égard de son propre dialecte ou de celui des autres

On a des exemples intéressants dans l'ouvrage de P. Behnstedt et M. Woidich (1985:31) sur les parlers d'Égypte:

- Les auteurs ont constaté chez un même informateur un usage apparemment inconditionné de variantes libres dans les diphtongues, soit contractées [ē] - [ō], soit non contractées [ay], [aw]. A l'examen, il est apparu que, chez le même informateur, l'usage des diphtongues non contractées apparaissait comme ayant un caractère marqué par son aspect paysan. L'usage des diphtongues contractées correspondait chez lui à des situations plus formelles où il fallait éviter de paraître ridicule ou attardé.

- Ils ont constaté aussi que certains bédouins (Behnstedt-Woidich 1985:36) utilisent le mot *bēda* "oeuf" quand ils se rendent en ville, alors qu'ils utilisent le mot *dahya* entre eux et en contexte non-citadin.

6. Aires paliers ou aires de transition

On se contentera ici de citer deux exemples très significatifs:

- En Égypte, entre les isoglosses des formes de l'inaccompli de type *niktib-niktibu* (modèle maghrébin) et de type *'aktib-niktib* (modèle oriental), on a une aire de transition du type *'aktib-niktibu*¹² (carte 11).

- Au Yémen, entre l'aire où le pronom relatif est en *dī* et celle où il est en *'alladī* on a une aire de transition où apparaît le relatif *'adī*¹³ (carte 12).

7. Centre, périphérie et extra-périphérie

Ces notions apparaissent comme très délicates à manier dans l'aire arabophone, notamment à cause de la mobilité des populations nomades et semi-nomades et à cause de l'immensité de l'aire étudiée. La plupart des dialectologues semblent s'accorder aujourd'hui pour parler de l'existence de *plusieurs centres* et donc de *plusieurs périphéries*. Au point de vue historique notamment, cette manière d'aborder les faits paraît être la plus satisfaisante. Plusieurs centres ont diffusé pendant une période limitée des koinè ou des embryons de koinè: on citera à titre d'exemples les aires *qātu* et *gilit* ("j'ai dit") en Mésopotamie, l'aire pré-hilalienne des parlers villageois et citadins et l'aire hilalienne des parlers nomades du Maghreb. Nous avons déjà abordé plus haut la notion de périphérie à propos du parler yéménite de la Tihāma par rapport à celui du Caire.

Quant aux parlers de l'extra-périphérie, peu d'entre eux sont bien connus, mais

¹¹ On retrouve un phénomène identique sur les cartes 39, 40, 41, 42 etc.

¹² Behnstedt-Woidich 1985: carte n° 211.

¹³ Behnstedt 1985:65, carte n° 25.

leur étude connaît aujourd'hui un développement extraordinaire (Nigéria, Nubie notamment). L'étude plus ancienne des faits de Chypre et de la région de Boukhara en Union Soviétique a déjà mis en évidence quelques caractéristiques intéressantes, notamment les phénomènes de *réinterprétation* des données arabes en fonction des données de l'adstrat ou du substrat. Par exemple dans la phonologie du parler arabe de Chypre, l'opposition sourdes-sonores est neutralisée dans des conditions analogues à celles que connaît le grec moderne: *ḥzar* > *g̣zar* "pierre" car deux phonèmes en contact sont tous les deux soit sourds, soit sonores en grec moderne et en arabe de Chypre. On peut viter encore le fait que dans le parler arabe de la région de Boukhara, à l'ancienne paire phonologique *šār* "il est devenu": *sār* "il est allée" basée sur l'opposition "consonne emphatique : consonne non-emphatique", s'est substituée la paire *sār* : *sōr* où l'opposition phonologique, sous l'influence de l'adstrat tadjik, n'est plus que vocalique: ces deux phénomènes notamment ont été analysés par D. Cohen (1973) dans un beau travail sur la notion de variante dialectale.

8. Conclusions

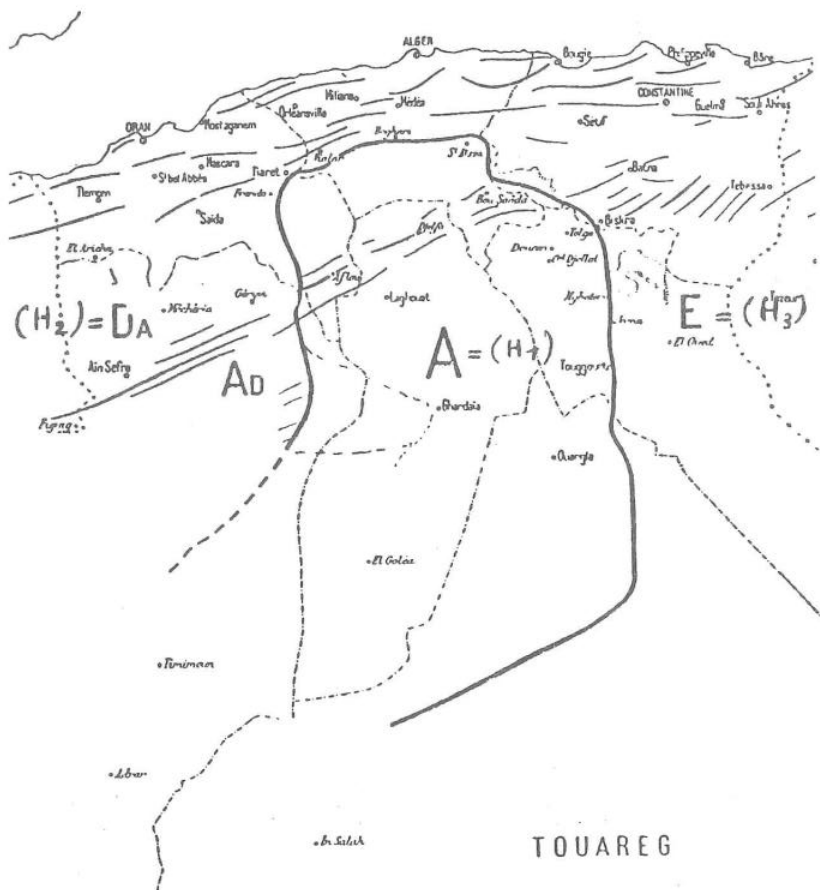
Dans un article remarquable¹⁴, W. Diem a montré que dans l'ensemble dialectal arabe, les phénomènes de nivellement par convergence ont été particulièrement accentués si on compare cette aire avec celle des parlers araméens par exemple.

Les parlers des populations sédentarisées depuis longtemps, ce qui est le cas des Araméens, connaissent des fractionnements dialectaux plus précoces et plus importants que ceux des populations encore en voie de sédentarisation. Aujourd'hui, on assiste à une relative convergence des parlers de citadins dans le monde arabe: la distinction des genres au pluriel et les interdentes ont tendance à y disparaître. Le parler du caire s'étend sans cesse en Orient et forme une nouvelle koinè. Mais la distinction entre les parlers maghrébins et orientaux reste fondamentale.

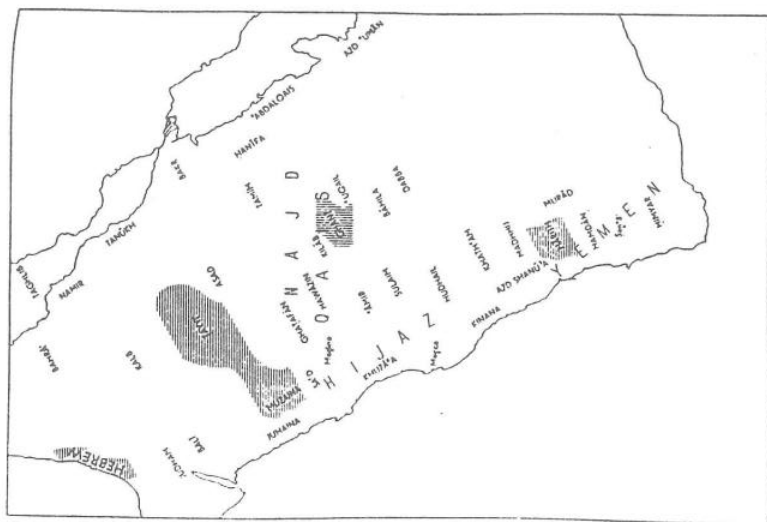
S'il ne reste rien aujourd'hui dans les parlers de la péninsule arabique, notamment au Hīǧāz, des isoglosses qu'ont mises en évidence les anciens grammairiens arabes, cela ne signifie pas que les processus et les modes d'interprétation qui s'imposent en dialectologie moderne, n'y soient pas applicables. Cette constatation souligne simplement les lacunes de notre documentation. Nous ne connaissons presque rien de l'évolution des dialectes arabes au Moyen Âge (les cas andalou et sicilien étant des exceptions, semble-t-il) non seulement à cause de la rareté des documents, mais aussi parce que la *reconstruction* des aires dialectales arabes anciennes n'en est encore qu'à ses premiers balbutiements. On espère avoir montré dans le présent travail combien les progrès en dialectologie arabe sont et resteront liés aux progrès de la dialectologie générale et à la définition de plus en plus précise de véritables concepts opérationnels dans cette discipline.

¹⁴ Diem 1978:138 notamment.

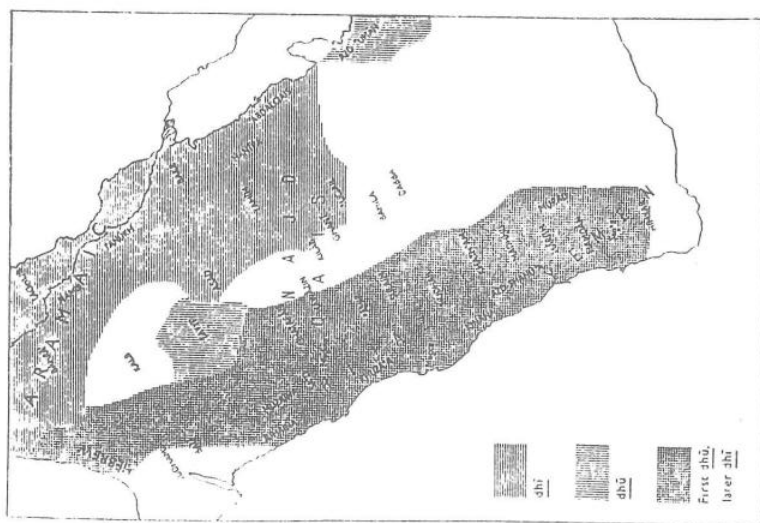
CARTE 1 (Cantineau 1941)



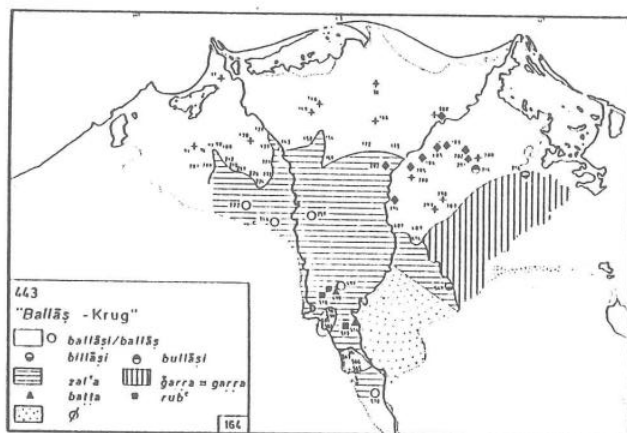
CARTE 2 (Rabin 1951)



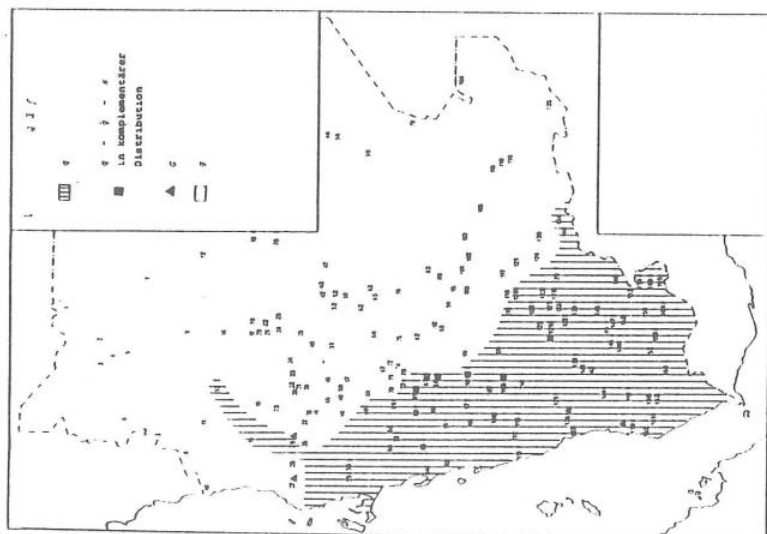
CARTE 3 (Rabin 1951)



CARTE 6 (Behnstedt-Woidich 1985)



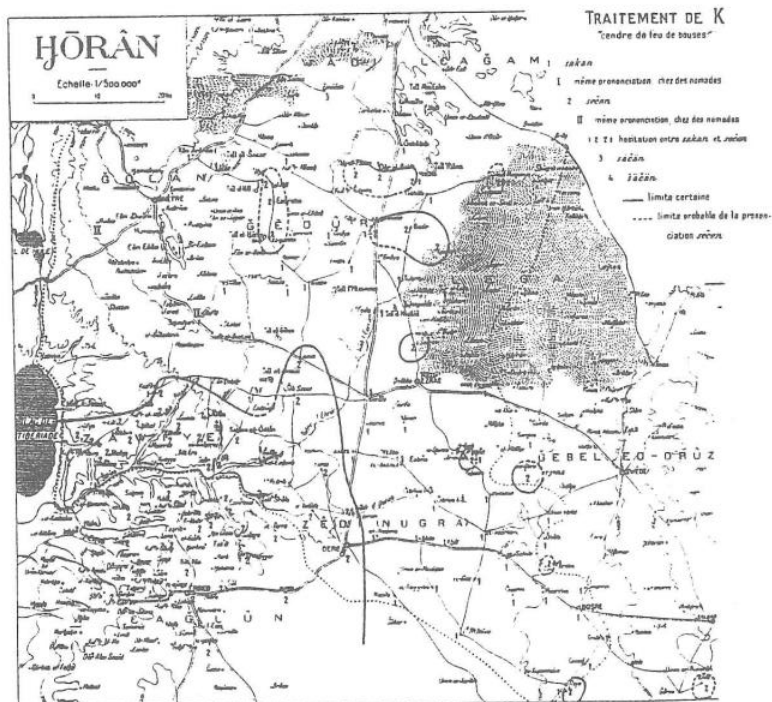
CARTE 7 (Behnstedt 1985)



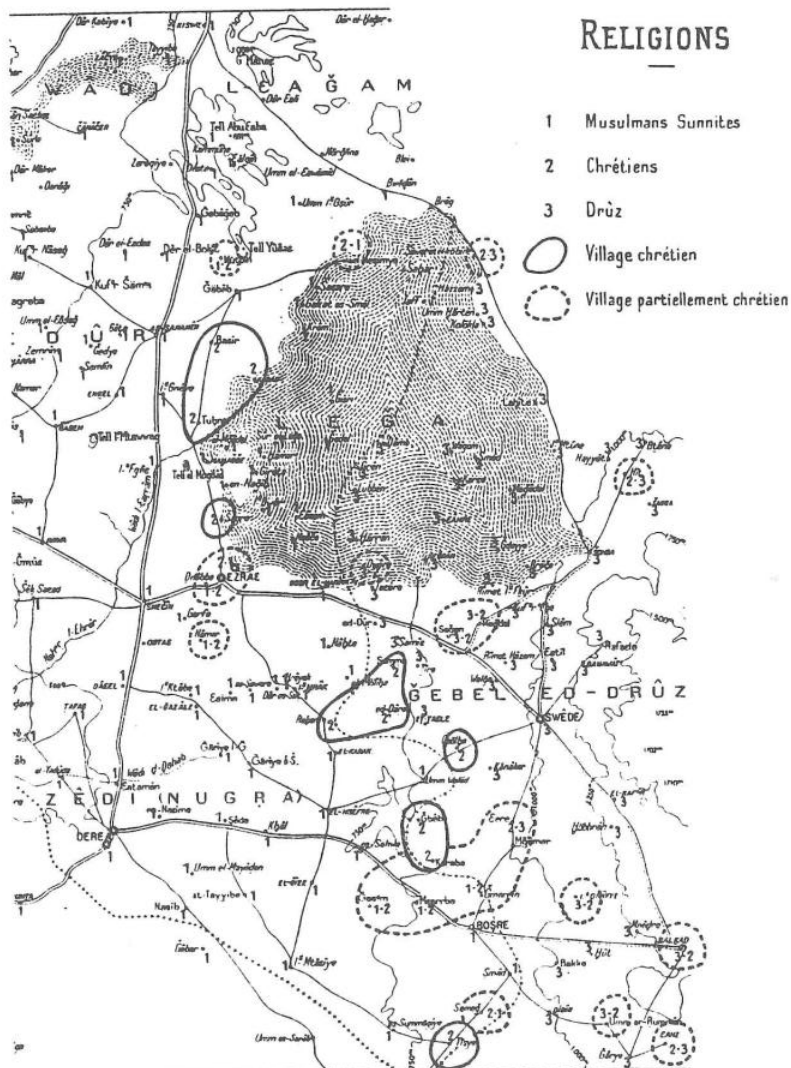
CARTE 8 (Behnstedt-Woidich 1985)



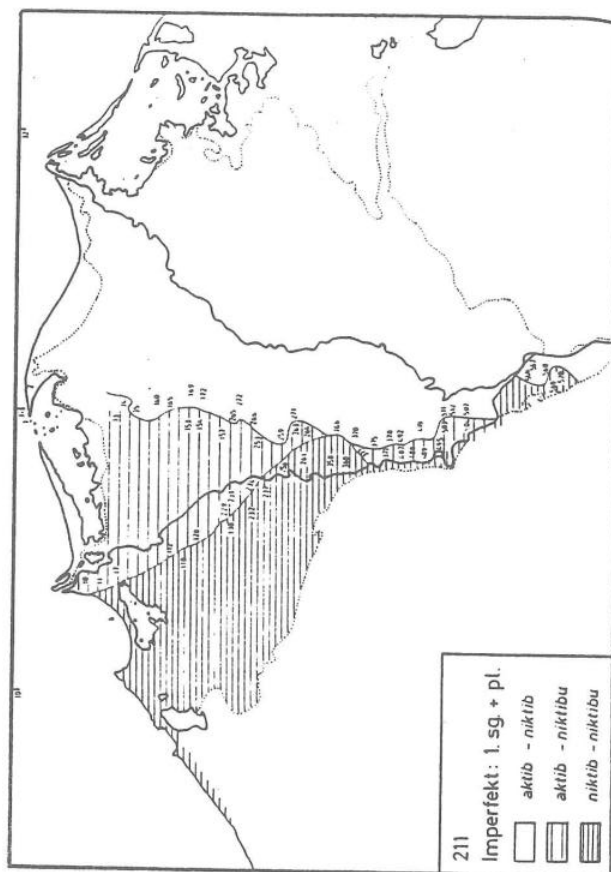
CARTE 9 (Cantineau 1940)



CARTE 10 bis (Cantineau 1940)

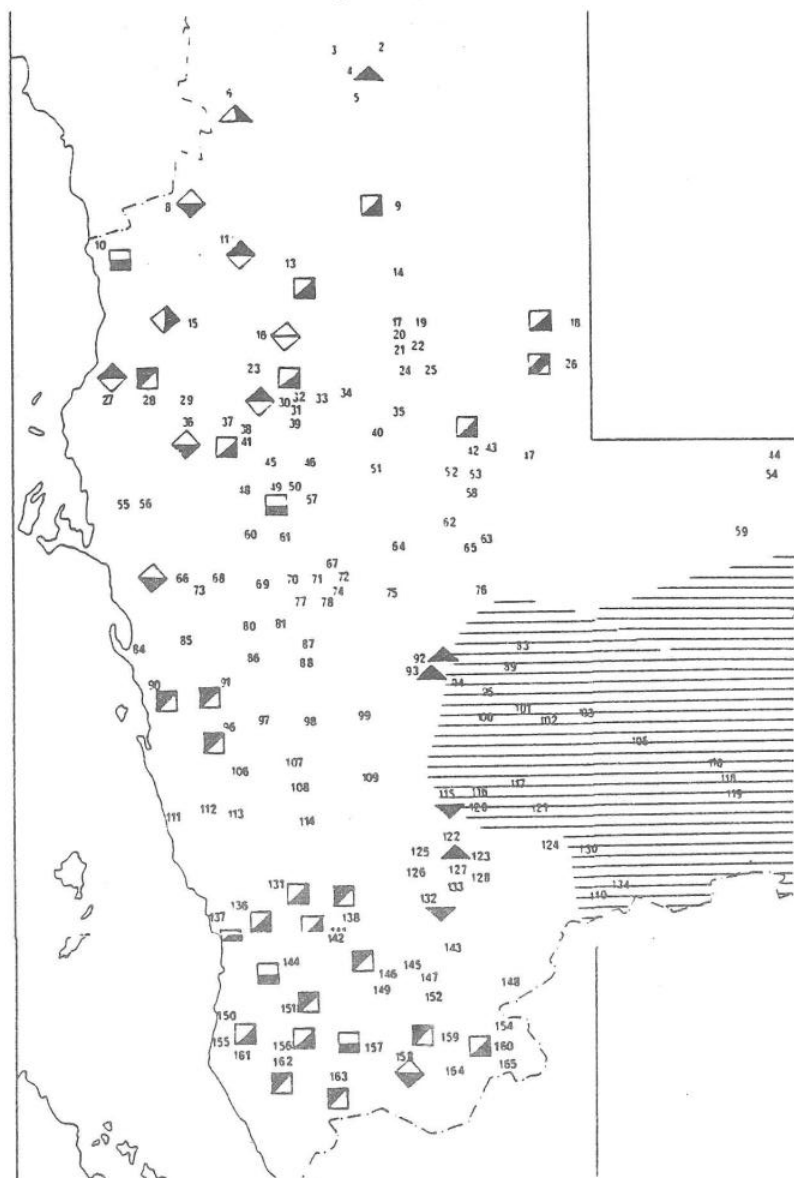


CARTE 11 (Behnstedt-Woidich 1985)



CARTE 12 (Behnstedt 1985)

□ 'alladɪ ▲ 'adɪ ▼ dɪ



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FROM THE HISTORY OF SEMITIC LINGUISTICS IN EUROPE: AN EARLY THEORY OF REDUNDANCY OF ARABIC CASE-ENDINGS

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In Semitic linguistics the 18th century was a period of gradual transition to historicism and "explanatorism", both from extra- and intra-linguistic standpoints. This tendency became especially evident in the 80's and 90's. Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl (1760-1834), in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen und Literatur* (1784), proposed a new classification of Semitic languages, together with their historical description, based on Friedrich Carl Fulda's (1724-1788) theory of the stadial development of languages. Certain problems of the external history of Semitic languages were dealt with by August Schlözer (1737-1809). Conrad Gottlob Anton (1745-1814) endeavoured to analyze the morphological structure of verbal forms in all Semitic languages known at that time.

In this period the problem of the origin and efficiency of the nominal, as well as the verbal, inflection in Arabic (i.e., essentially, the correlation of the synthetic and analytic grammatical means) was discussed for the first time in European Semitology. This subject will be dealt with in the present paper. The problem of the correlation of synthetic and analytic constructions had a long history in European Semitology, on a descriptive level. In the early stages of Semitology the description of Semitic languages was based on the Oriental as well as the Classical (i.e. Latin) tradition, the prevalent approach being dependent on the author. The Latin tradition became especially evident in the description of nominal constructions in analytic Semitic languages. The nominal declension was regarded as an indispensable component of grammatical structure, and, since the morphological cases were absent from Hebrew, Aramaic and colloquial Arabic, Semitologists usually searched in these languages for analytic constructions which corresponded functionally to Latin cases and built declensional schemes of them.

For example, Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) in his pioneering *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506: 556-557) discerns five cases in Hebrew:

Nominativus	'iš
Genitivus	hā-'iš (e.g. šēm hā-'iš)
Dativus	lē-'iš
Accusativus	'ei 'iš
Ablativus	mē-'iš.

Pedro de Alcala (late 15th - early 16th century), in his grammar of the Granadian dialect (1883:9-10), finds in vernacular Arabic all six Latin cases, which he designates by Latin as well as Arabic terms:

Nominativus	mubtedé expressed by a, al	
Genitivus	mudáf	a, al, mīta, mītal
Dativus	maxrór	la, lal, li, lil
Accusativus	maf'uúl	as Nom.
Ablativus	darf	ba, bal, bi, bil

Vocativus

munéde

fa, fal, fi, fil
 mǎ'a, mǎ'al
 min, minal
 a, ya

A similar approach to analytical quasi-case constructions also characterized early grammars of new European languages.

The authors of Classical Arabic grammars usually followed Arabic grammatical tradition. Nevertheless, they too were influenced by Latin grammar. Guillaume Postel (1510-1581) in his Arabic Grammar establishes correspondences between Arabic prepositional constructions and Latin cases (1538?:E iii v.). Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), author of the first substantial grammar of Arabic, in keeping with morphology, as well as with Arabic grammatical tradition, finds three cases in Arabic — Nominativus, Genitivus, Accusativus — but indicates that Genitivus also includes Dativum and Ablativum (1636:135).

Obviously, the equation of prepositional constructions to case-forms had a negative side, in that it obscured the specific morphological nature of analytic patterns. On the other hand, this empirically established correlation of grammatical patterns was implicitly based on the fruitful idea that case-forms and certain prepositional constructions were semantically and functionally identical and could be substituted for each other.

This approach to nominal "declension" remained practically unchanged in Semitological literature until the end of the 18th century, while in Western linguistics a remarkable progress was achieved. In the works of prominent linguists, like l'abbé Gabriel Girard (ca. 1677-1748) and Nicholas Beauzée (1717-1789), the notions of synthetism and analytism emerged, albeit in a different terminology. In a brilliant thesis by Adam Smith (1723-1790), *A Dissertation on the Origin of Languages* (published in 1761), we already find a well elaborated theory of the development of languages from synthetism to analytism, illustrated by examples from the history of new European languages.

It might be expected that the achievements of Western philology would be applied to Arabic, which developed from synthetism (literary language) to analytism (spoken language) in essentially the same way as the new European languages. But precisely in this field, in the period under consideration, Semitology suddenly took an unexpected turn.

The problem of the Arabic inflection was dealt with by the prominent German orientalist, Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791), in his Arabic grammar (two editions: 1771, 1781), though his main idea on the subject had already been expressed in 1757 in one of his earlier works (1757:159). Comparing the grammatical structures of spoken and literary Arabic, Michaelis came to the conclusion that, primordially, the Arabic language had no case endings and that these endings were introduced into literary Arabic by mediaeval philologists after the Greek model; in other words, they were completely artificial. Consequently, those who sought the real nominal patterns had to turn to the spoken language, which remained outside the sphere of interest and normalizing activity of the grammarians (Michaelis 1781: VIII, LXVIII, 178-180, 250).

Michaelis did not expound his theory in detail, so we do not know how he perceived this supposed process of intervention by grammarians into the life of the lan-

guage. Nor do we know exactly what led him to his theory. We only have his indication that in his views on this subject he was deeply influenced by the grammar of vernacular Arabic by Antonius ab Aquila (middle of the 16th century), which appeared in 1650, but became known to Michaelis between 1781 and 1785, i.e. already after the publication of the second edition of his Arabic Grammar. In ab Aquila's Grammar Michaelis found corroboration and additional material for his theory (*"Ich hätte viel aus ihr [ab Aquila's Grammar] nehmen, viel bereichern, viel, daß ich furchtsam als Vermutung sagte, dreist bestätigen können"* (1796:274). Thus, we can only attempt to ascertain what would have led Michaelis to his views by a close study of ab Aquila's Grammar.

Not surprisingly, ab Aquila himself did not discuss the problem of the authenticity of the case-endings in Classical Arabic. Ab Aquila deals primarily with the spoken language and, in his description of case relations, he follows the traditional approach: certain analytic constructions are regarded as exponents of the six classical — i.e. absolute — cases. However, in ab Aquila's description of the analytic quasi-case constructions several important peculiarities are to be observed.

Ab Aquila begins by stating explicitly that the case-forms are not discernible in the spoken language (*"sciendum est, quod Arabes in lingua vernacula non habent distinctionem casuum"*; 1650:344).

Further, ab Aquila adduces signs (*notae seu signa*) which are used for distinguishing cases as follows:

Nominativus — no sign.

Genitivus — positioning of a substantive immediately after another substantive; also the particle *li-* (principally to express a question or possession).

Dativus — the particle *li-*.

Accusativus — positioning of a substantive after a transitive verb; also certain particles (*'inda*, *'alā*, *'ilā*).

Vocativus — the particles *yā*, *'ayyuhā*.

Ablativus — certain specific prepositions, such as *min*, *fī*, *bi*, *ma'a* etc. (1650: 344-345).

Thus, unlike previous authors, ab Aquila, in adducing the "signs" of the cases, does not confine himself to prepositions only, but refers also to word order and the semantic-syntactic characteristic of the verb: transitivity. By virtue of this, his description of the quasi-case constructions becomes more comprehensive and these patterns prove to be better fitted into the framework of Arabic grammar.

No less important are the following factors: ab Aquila, in his enumeration of the *notae seu signa* of cases does not mention means which are specific to the spoken language only and are not found in the literary language, such as particles of Genitive *tabā'*, *biā'*, etc.; on the other hand he does not touch upon specifically literary constructions in which the use of case-endings is essential (e.g. *wāw al-ma'īyya* construction, general negation). Consequently, his description of the analytic expression of cases becomes applicable both to spoken and to literary Arabic. This is corroborated by the examples adduced in the grammar. All of them are given in Arabic script (i.e. have an outer classical form), are devoid of specifically vernacular elements and — irrespective of the author's intention — demonstrate that ab Aquila's

list of techniques for the "distinction of cases" in vernacular Arabic was equally valid for Classical language.

Obviously, on the basis of such a presentation of Arabic grammar, one could easily conclude that the case-endings were completely redundant in literary Arabic.

We do not know whether Michaelis' reasoning did, in fact, conform to the above arguments. At all events, there can be no doubt that the grammar by ab Aquila could, as no other, have led the reader to conclude that the relational nominal inflection in Classical Arabic had no grammatical function.

Michaelis' postulate was developed by Johann Gottfried Hasse (1759-1806), a theologian and orientalist. He put forward his views on the question in an article *Vom Einfluß der Griechischen Grammatik auf die Arabische*, published in 1788.

In Hasse's opinion, the Greek language, this "Lieblings-Sprache des Orients", as he put it, exerted a strong influence on Arabic, of a kind which was designated in later linguistics as substratum effect. But, according to Hasse, this substratum did not influence Arabic grammar directly, but by means of philology. Hasse comments on different aspects of the influence of Greek civilization on the Semitic world and quite rightly sees one of its manifestations in the huge mass of translations of Greek authors into Arabic. At the same time he overestimates the influence of Greek culture on the Arab world, assuming that this influence affected not only different branches of science and philosophy, but poetry too. Apparently, he was also of the opinion that all translations of Greek authors were made directly from Greek to Arabic. All this led him to the conclusion that the Arabs "studied Greek and elaborated it grammatically in the same degree as their mother tongue" (Hasse 1788:232-234).

In all probability, Hasse continues (1788:234), Arab philologists began to compare the two languages with the object of improving their teaching methods. Having found that the Greek nominal and verbal inflections express grammatical relations more exactly, they introduced inflections into Arabic texts, at first into textbooks and later into the Qoran ("a general reading book of Arabs"), whence these additions (*Zusätze*) spread to other texts.

Hasse was of the opinion that not only nominal, but also verbal inflection — the endings *-u*, *-a* in imperfect, *-u*, *-a*, *-i* in perfect, *-n* (+ vowel) after long vowels — appeared in Arabic due to the Greek influence.

Hasse even reconstructed concrete sources of the Arabic noun- and verb-endings allegedly invented by the grammarians; for nouns: *probaton*, *echidnēs*, *sophian* (1788:236); for verbs: *legō*, *legeis*, *legei*; *typsō*, *etypsa* (1788:235). As for the unfortunate circumstance that the Arabic and Greek endings did not always coincide completely, he argued that Arabic had less vowels than Greek and could not express all the nuances of Greek phonetics.

Regarding the endings of nouns in the plural (*-ūna*, *-īna*) Hasse asserts that the real plural-ending is *-īna*, while *-ūna* is a dialectal variant; different case functions were given to these endings by mediaeval grammarians, also under the Greek influence.

The dual number is declared by Hasse to be entirely a grammarians' speculative innovation in Semitic languages: in Arabic under the influence of Greek, in Hebrew — in the few forms where it exists — under the influence of Arabic grammar (1788: 236-237).

On the issue of the functional importance of the nominal (relational) inflection Hasse is laconic, but unequivocal: "*casus* [i.e. case-forms] *sind in einer Sprache gar nicht notwendig*" (1788:234).

Hasse's reasoning demonstrates, more clearly than Michaelis', the two concepts on which these two authors' interpretation of the Arabic declension is based: comprehension of the redundancy of the case-endings, and, as a consequence, acceptance of the vernacular analytical constructions as basic patterns in Arabic. Nevertheless, the problem had another aspect, mentioned by both authors only in passing, but which apparently played a significant role in the development of their ideas.

At the end of the 18th century the prevalent opinion was that two or more languages could be regarded as cognate if they were similar both in lexicon and in grammar (see Monboddo (1714-1791) 1773:433). The Arabic relational inflection drew such a sharp distinction between inflective Arabic, on the one hand, and caseless Hebrew and Aramaic, on the other, that certain scholars refused to regard Hebrew and Arabic as closely cognate languages and to use Arabic for elucidation of difficult phenomena in the dead Hebrew language. Of course, contemporary linguistics admitted the possibility of changes in the grammatical structure of languages in the process of historical development (especially due to external influences), but this did not help in our case. Though theoretically it was admitted that languages could develop in two directions: from simple to complex and from complex to simple (or corrupt; Monboddo 1773:484-485), the observable history of languages testified that the development was directed from complex (synthetic) to simple (analytic) type. Thus, the affinity of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic having been assumed, a two-fold problem remained to be addressed:

1. that the development in this linguistic group was from simple type (Hebrew) to complex type (Arabic), which was in contradiction to the general direction of linguistic evolution.

2. that the developmental direction was from Arabic-type to Hebrew-type, i.e. that Arabic represented a more ancient linguistic type — an idea which was hard to accept at that epoch when the belief that Hebrew was the First language had been shaken, but not yet abandoned.

The Michaelis-Hasse theory eliminated these difficulties and cleared the way for the use of Arabic for explanation of Hebrew.

The advantages of the Michaelis-Hasse theory were obvious. No less obvious — possibly even to its authors — was the artificiality of the idea of a drastic intervention of the grammarians into the life of a language. Even so the Michaelis-Hasse theory exerted a certain influence on Semitic linguistics in the next few decades. The theory of the artificial introduction of the *ʾrāb*-endings into Arabic grammar by mediaeval grammarians was accepted uncritically by such prominent philologists — authors of fundamental surveys of the languages of the world — as S.F.G. Wahl (1784:427) and Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806; 1806:384). Ernest Renan (1823-1892), in his famous *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (first published in 1855), argued against this theory (1958:477), but he was also of the opinion that the Arabic *ʾrāb*-endings, being purely relational, could not be regarded as real inflections ("*les voyelles finales ... ne sont pas de vraies flexions*"; *ibid.* 523) and were to some extent redundant ("*elles ont quelque chose de superficiel et d'inorganique*" *ibid.* 498).

The theory of Michaelis and Hasse was the second attempt after Ouṭrub, and the first in European Arabistics, to reevaluate the efficiency of the inflection in Arabic. It preceded the modern criticism of *ʿrāb* by over a century and a half. And though from the modern point of view the solution to the problem proposed by Michaelis and Hasse seems fantastic, if not ridiculous, their theory deserves a place in the history of Semitic linguistics as an early exponent of the idea of the irrelevancy of Arabic inflection.

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QAD YAĞŪZ FĪ Š-ŠĪ'R:
ON THE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF THE SO CALLED
POETIC LICENSES IN ŠĪBWAYHI'S KITĀB

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1. qad yağūz fī š-šĪ'r wa-huwa ḍa'if fī l-kalām

In Šībwayhi's Kitāb we frequently meet qualificatory expressions referring either to some linguistic data or the relevant grammatical rules. In a chapter dealing with adverbial constructions shifted to the beginning of a sentence in the nominative (*ibtidā'an*)¹. The remainder of the sentence is built upon the inchoative (*mabnī 'alayhi*), there being in the second part a compulsory pronoun (the so called *ḍamīr 'ā'id*) which refers back to the inchoative and binds the two parts of the sentence together. Without this pronoun the sentence cannot be considered as totally acceptable. "It is weak but allowed to occur in poetry" - says Šībwayhi (*Kitāb* (B), I, 57): "lā yaḥṣunu fī l-kalām 'an tağ'ala l-fī'la mabniyyan 'alā l-ismi wa-lā taḍkura 'alāmata 'idmāri l-'awwali ḥattā taḥruḡa min lafzi l-'ī'māli fī l-'awwal ... wa-lākinnaḥu qad yağūzu fī š-šĪ'ri wa-huwa ḍa'ifun fī l-kalām. Qāla 'Abū n-Nağm al-'Iḡlī: qad 'aṣbaḥat 'ummu l-ḥiyāri tadda'f * 'alayya ḍanban kulluḥu lam 'aṣna'i."²

In this paper I will examine two expressions: the special possibilities of poetry and their relation to some linguistic usages considered extraordinary or weakly acceptable.

2. naḥwa qawluka

The organization of linguistic data in Šībwayhi's Kitāb is as follows:³

- (i)⁴ Examples introduced by *ḍālika/naḥwa qawluka* / ('innaka) *taqūlu* / *'idā qulta* / *ka-'annaka qulta* / (and some of the examples starting with 'in *qulta*) are the examples belonging to the foundations of *kalām*. These are examples reflecting the basic rules.

¹ "bāb mā yağ'f mimma yakūnu ṣarfan ḥadd l-mağ'rā", Šībwayhi, Kitāb (II) I, 84.

² as-Širāfi, explaining Šībwayhi's words, says the following (see 'Ibrāhīm 1983:39-40 where he quotes as-Širāfi from Durayd Muḥammad 'Abū s-Su'ūd's unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Šarḥ as-Širāfi, taḥqīq wa-dirāsa*): "ya'nf 'annaka 'idā ḡa'alta l-isma mubtada'an wa-ḡa'alta l-fī'la ḥabaran fa-l-waḡnu 'an tuḡhira ḍ-ḍamīra llaḍf ya'ādu 'ilā l-ismi ḥattā yaḥruḡa min lafzin yu'milla fīhi l-'awwalu ya'nf 'annahu qabṭhun 'an taqūla: zaydun ḍarabtu." as-Šantamarī's opinion (*Taḥṣīl* I, 57) slightly differs from that of Šībwayhi, because he considers the license to be the elision of the pronoun instead of the replacement of the accusative with the nominative: "yanbağf 'an yakūna qawluḥu kulluḥu lam 'aṣna'i wa-'in kāna qad ḥuḍifa l-ḥā' 'aqwā min qawlihi kulluḥu bi-n-naṣḥ wa-takūnu ḍ-ḍamīra fīhi ḥaḍf al-ḥā' lā rağf kull".

³ This presentation does not aim at exhaustiveness. I have picked these types from randomly selected passages.

⁴ *kamā kāna ḥaṣṣantu bi-ṣādrīhi wa-ṣadr zayd waḡn al-kalām* (II I, 74); *wa-ḥāḍ ḥadd l-hadd taqūlu ... fa-'in qulta ... raḡa' ta li-'annaka ...; ka-'annaka qulta 'alā t-taqdīm wa-t-ta'ḥīr ...* (II I, 78).

- (ii)⁵ Examples that conform to the rule of *tamīl* but are not used in speech.
- (iii)⁶ Uncertain (or tacitly rejected) examples of grammarians.
za'ama
- (iv) Examples taken from actual speech or at least not from grammarians.
qawl al-'arab; qāla l-'arab
- (v)⁷ Forms that are divergent from the basic rules but are still accepted (due to frequent) usage.
ḥaḍafū / istaḡnaw / 'awwaḍū etc.
- (vi)⁸ Forms that are not in general use and usually are of dialects.
qāla ba'ḍuhum, qawl ba'd al-'arab, qawl man yaqūl, luḡat tamīm etc.
- (vii)⁹ Forms that are (sometimes) used in speech but are considered bad or ugly.
in qulta / law qulta ... kāna qabīḥan etc.
wa-miṭla ḍālika law kāna ḥādā bi-manzilāt ... la-mā ḡāza
- (viii) Qur'ānic examples.
wa-miṭla ḍālika qawluhu 'azza wa-ḡalla (H I, 37).
- (ix)¹⁰ Poetic examples conforming to general usage and rules (*kalām*).
wa-minhu qawl aš-šā'ir (H I, 37).

⁵ *qawluka: mā 'aḥsana 'abdallāhi za'ama l-ḥalīl 'annahu bi-manzilāt qawluka: šay'un 'aḥsana 'abdallāhi. wa-daḥalahū ma'nā t-ta'aḡḡub. wa-ḥādā tamīl wa-lam yutakallam bihi* (H I, 72).

⁶ See the example in the fn. to (ii).

⁷ *wa-'in qulta ... naṣabta 'illā fī qawl man qāla 'akalūn l-barāḡū 'aw taḥmiluhu 'alā l-badal ... ka-'annaka qulta ...* (H I, 78).

⁸ *qāla ba'ḍuhum: ḡahabū š-šama (yuṣabbihuhū bi-l-mubham ... wa-ḥādā šādā) → wa-miṭla ḍālika qawlu šādā b. Ḥu'ayya* (H I, 35); *wa-ḡad yaḡūz ḡarabū wa-ḡarabanf zaydan li-'anna ba'ḡahum qad yaḡūlu ma'd ra'ayta 'aw qulta zaydan muntaligan wa-l-ḡaḡh ma'd ra'ayta 'aw qulta zaydan muntaligan; miṭla ḍālika l-ḡawḏ ... wa-l-ḡaḡh 'an taqūla; fa-'in qulta ḡarabanf wa-ḡarabū qawmaka fa-ḡāz* (H I, 79).

⁹ *'a-lā tarā 'annaka law qulta: kāna 'insdun ḡalīman 'aw kāna raḡulun muntaligan kunta tulbisu ... wa-karahū ... wa-ḡad yaḡūzu fī š-šīr wa-fī du'f min al-kalām. ḡamalahum 'alā ḍālika 'annahu fī l-bi-manzilāt ḡaraba ... wa-ḍālika qawl Ḥiddā b. Zuhayr: # fa-'innaka lā tubāllf ba'da ḡawlin * 'a- zabyun kāna 'ummaka 'am ḡimāru # (ism kāna ḡakira) (H I, 48); wa-huwa qabīḥ 'an taḡāla l-laḡ ka-l-wḡḡid ka-mā taḡūlu huwa 'aḡsanu l-fiyāni wa-'aḡmalu wa-'akramu banīni wa-'anbaluhu* (H I, 80).

¹⁰ *qāla 'Umar ibn 'Abī Rabī'a ... li-'annahu 'aḡmara fī 'aḡir al-kalām* (H I, 78); *wa-qāla Imru' l-Qays ... fa-'innamā rafa'd li-'annahu* (H I, 79).

- (x)¹¹ Poetic examples corresponding to (v), i.e. which are divergent from the main rules but are evaluated neither with *qabīlī* nor *yağūz*.
wa-ğā'a fī š-šī'r min al-istiğnā' 'ašaddu min hādā (H I, 74).
- (xi)¹² Accepted examples of poetry which are not considered to correspond to *kālām* forms but to forms from tribal dialects.
- (xii)¹³ Forms unequivocally judged as bad (*qabīlī*) from the point of view of *kālām*, but are permitted in poetry (*yağūz fī š-šī'r*), corresponding to (vii) → these are the *par excellence* poetic licenses.

This grouping reflects the usual order of quoting the examples, i.e. first we find those abstract quasi-examples that have already been analyzed by the grammarians. (These are, however, not necessarily speculative examples, they can also be simplified and formulated examples taken from the actual language.) A special group of them is *tamīl/za'ama* which means possibilities provided by the rules but which do not have counterparts in the spoken language.¹⁴ Then there are such abstract possibilities which are discarded by the linguist (in a large number of cases this dismissal reflects disputes and the rejection of other, unspecified grammatical views). Some of these are introduced by *law / 'in*. All these and many other things¹⁵ point to that linguistics does not only (if at all) follow immediate practical aims but at the same time, worthily of a good science, it is saturated with the fulfilment of purely theoretic-

¹¹ *fa-lammā ḥadafū ḥarf al-ğarr 'amila l-fī'lu miṭla ḍālika qawl al-Mutalammiṣ: # 'dāyṭu ḥabba l-irāqī ...yurid: 'alā ḥabbi l-irāqī* (H I, 38). It is explained but not evaluated. *wa-ḍālika qawlu Qays ibn al-Ḥaṭm wa-qad istaḥḥada Sībawayhi bi-hādā l-bayt wa-mā yalīhi muqawwiyan li-mā ḡāza min ḥadf al-maf'āl alladī huwa faḍla* (H I, 74).

¹² *ladun bi-hazzi l-kaffi ya'silu matnuhu * fīhi kamā 'asala t-tarīqa t-ta'labu 'in šī'a iqtasarta 'ild l-maf'āl al-'awwal wa-'in šī'a tu'addf 'ild t-tānf* (H I, 36).

¹³ *wa-qāla l-Farazdaq: # 'a-sakrānu kāna bna l-marāğati 'id ḥağā * 'a-siḥrun kāna ṭibbak 'am ḡunūnu # fa-hādā 'inšādu ba'ḍihim wa-'aktaruhum yaṣubu s-sakrāna wa-yarfa'u l-ḍhira 'alā qaf'in wa-bidd'in* (H I, 49). There is another solution: to avoid poetic license with an *'inšād* that conforms to *al-kālām*. Cf. in Imru' l-Qays's *qaṣīda*: *fa-l-yawma 'aṣrab ḡayra mustahqibin * 'iḡman min Allāhi wa-lā wāğili* where *'aṣrab* is in the indicative but with *sukūn*. See e.g. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* (H) IV, 204; (B) II, 297; cf. as-Sirāfi, *Ṣarḥ* II, 168; Jahn 1895-1900: 1/2, 42; Ibrāhīm 1983:64; Muḥammad 1983:22-3 where he cites an example for the use of this *ḍarūra* as *šāhid* in the *qirā'at* literature). This is either explained as a license, or another variant containing no license is proposed with *'asqā* instead of *'aṣrab* (see e.g. Ibn Qutayba, *Muqaddima* 31 (*bāb 'uyūb al-šī'r*) where he seems to condemn grammarians for having recourse to such 'faulty' forms. Notwithstanding, he cites this 'faulty' variant, i.e. with a license in it, when speaking about the poetry of Imru' l-Qays in a later chapter (Ibn Qutayba, *Šī'r* 42). For another example of this type see the quotation in the fn. to (vii).

¹⁴ On *tamīl* see Ayoub 1990. The difference between examples called *tamīl* and examples *'mā yutakallamu bihi* may be compared, to a certain extent, to the difference of competence and performance in modern linguistics, though the phrase *'hādā tamīl* sometimes seems to have a negative connotation, especially when used together with *'za'ama*.

¹⁵ See, for example, the prescription of *'in + ḡazm*, and the use of *'in + maddf* by Sībawayhi, as noticed in Dévényi 1988:22-3, and note 28. Even in the 8th century there is a significant gap between the actual use of *'arabīyya* in prose and the theoretical rules and possibilities attested and allowed by the grammarians.

tical tasks.¹⁶ The origin of everyday examples (*taqīlu l-'arab*, etc.) cannot be defined precisely, but most probably they reflect the views of *nuwāt* (the so-called "bedouins") who were in connection with the grammarians. Their opinion was strongly needed also because the majority of linguists were of non-Arab origin. The two groups of textual examples (or rather examples constituting a given "corpus", since in their transmission oral and written forms were of equal significance) are the Qur'ān and poetry. I do not wish to treat here the relationship of these two, but there are two self-explaining facts: their ration in the *Kitāb*¹⁷ and the fact that a lot of poetic lines are used for the explanation of the Qur'ān while the inverse is not typical. That the majority of examples are from poetry is indisputable and at the same time it is also the most ancient layer of linguistic material.¹⁸ Consequently, it cannot be considered an unfounded assumption to say that *nahw* is primarily rooted in the analysis of poems and their comparison (assuming as I do that the 'arabiyya was primarily the language of poetry).¹⁹

3. Three introductory chapters

The problem how to interpret deviance and variance in linguistic data which the grammarians should be able to "handle" are treated in three introductory chapters of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. The first deals with accepted but accidental variants ('*a'rād*); the second evaluates the possible speech acts on a syntactic — semantic basis; and the third pays attention to a delicate question: What to do with the great number of forms collected in poetry which are (at least in the mirror of the grammatical rules) ungrammatical or "weak".

3.1 *bāb mā yakūn fī l-lafz min al-'a'rād*

The key-word of the title is explained by as-Sīrāfī (*Šarḥ* 75 ff.) in the following way: '*qawluhu 'min al-'a'rād' ya'nī mā ya'rifu fī l-kalām fa-yağtū 'alā gayri mā yanbağt 'an yakūna 'alayhi qiyāsuhu*'. These irregular or deviant forms are explained by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* (H) I, 24-5) within his grammatical system by the expanded use of three basic rules: elision (*ḥaḍf*, e.g. *lam yaku, lā 'adri*), exception (*istighnā*, e.g. they use *yada'u* but not *wada'a*, instead of which *taraka* is in use) and compensation (*ta'wīḍ*, e.g. *asīḍ'a* instead of *atīḍ'a*). But these forms cannot be the bases of

¹⁶ Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar (*Muqaddima* 3) recognizes this fact when he complains ironically that grammatical books are too long and exhaustive to be useful for the students and those thirsty for knowledge.

¹⁷ There are more than 400 Qur'ānic and approximately 1050 poetic examples (*ṣawḥid*) in the *Kitāb*, see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* (H) V.(indices) and 'Ibrāhīm 1983:23-4. Cf. al-Ḥadīṭī 1980:18.

¹⁸ On the importance or insignificance of the poetic *ṣawḥid* in the books of the grammarians see an interesting discussion in al-Ḥadīṭī 1980: 73-7, where the author falls victim of a circular reasoning not being able to decide between facts (the overwhelming employment of poetic examples) and theory (that *nahw* had come into being for the requirements of Qur'ānic exegesis or on the basis of the Qur'ānic text).

¹⁹ If we discard that the 'arabiyya was a spoken language at the time of Muḥammad or at any other time, then we can assume that the beginnings of Arabic linguistic thinking go back partly to the diglossia situation and partly to the custom of discussing and later on explaining poetry. But this, just as its contrary, is only a hypothesis I do not want to treat here, and taking sides in this question is not important from the point of view of the poetic licenses.

analogical rules (*qiyās*, see as-Sīrāfi, *Šarḥ* 76-7) because they are simply coined on the basis of similarity (*šabbahūhā* says as-Sīrāfi, *ibid.*). Perhaps it is not only a coincidence that just the same word *tašbīḥ* is used by Sībawayhi in explaining the special license of poetic usage (though he himself does not use the root *š.b.h* in connection with '*a'rād al-lafz*').

These forms could not be simply refused by the grammarians because of their frequent usage.²⁰ Even so some critics, perhaps from the Kufan side, felt that Sībawayhi stigmatizes these data as being "*šudūd*".²¹ And their arguments are full of Qur'ānic *qirā'āt* which show the same grammatical phenomena. To silence the critical remarks as-Sīrāfi (*Šarḥ* 78) used the explanation Sībawayhi himself had applied many times in his Book: "*innamā 'arāda Sībawayhi fī ḥādā l-mawḍi' 'an yubayyina 'anna kaṭṭran min al-'arab alladīna luḡatuhum 'itbāt al-yā' fī mitli ḥādā yahḍifūnahā min lā 'adri wa-luḡatuhum lā 'adri*". Thus - according to as-Sīrāfi - Sībawayhi only considered these words (e.g. *lā 'adri*, *lā nāṣṭari* etc.) accidental variants ('*a'rād*) in connection with a dialect where otherwise the accepted forms are *lā 'adri* and *lā naṣṭari*, that is, he did not want to decide between (significant) tribal dialects or dialectal usages.²²

3.2 *ḥādā bāb al-istiḳāma min al-kalām wa-l-'ihāla*

In this chapter Sībawayhi characterizes speech acts according to their acceptability on syntactico-semantic bases, applying three distinctive features and some of their combinations. The features or attributes are:

(1)	(2)	(3)
+ (<i>mustaqīm</i>)	+ (<i>ḥasan</i>)	+ (<i>ḡayr kadīb</i>)
— (<i>muḥāl</i>)	— (<i>qabṭī</i>)	— (<i>kadīb</i>)

(1) selectional feature (syntactic deep structure)

(2) syntactic relations feature (surface structure, e.g. word order)

(3) semantic feature

By combining these features, Sībawayhi classifies speech acts or utterances into the following five groups (not exploiting all the possibilities):

(i)	1 (+) ^ 2 (+)	<i>mustaqīm/ḥasan</i>
(ii)	1 (—)	<i>muḥāl</i>
(iii)	1 (+) ^ 3 (—)	<i>mustaqīm/kadīb</i>
(iv)	1 (+) ^ 2 (—)	<i>mustaqīm/qabṭī</i>
(v)	1 (—) ^ 3 (—)	<i>muḥāl/kadīb</i>

²⁰ Cf. as-Sīrāfi, *Šarḥ* 78: *li-kaṭṭatihi fī kalāmihim*; and 77: *kaṭṭurat fī kalāmihim*.

²¹ as-Sīrāfi, *Šarḥ* 78: *fa-'in qāla qā'ilun: lima ḥaṣṣ Sībawayhi ḥādā l-ḥarf bi-š-šudūd*.

²² Sībawayhi, as is reflected in the whole book, tries to be very cautious and unbiased in the question of different tribal and dialectal usages. For the question how Basran grammarians generally relied on some tribal dialects and tribal reciters, excluding others, see al-'Azzāwī 1978: esp. 38 ff.

There are some accepted dialectal features which, though it is not stated clearly, more or less "re-main within" the concept of *kalām* in some well-defined fields, mainly in pause e.g. final gemination (as in *sabsabba*, Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* (H) I, 29) and in the case of the shortening of final vowels (*al-qāḍi*, *al-muḥtādī*; cf. Carter 1990). If they are employed in other territories of the language (*tašbīḥan*) then it can only be a special *ḡawḍ* for the poet, this is the case e.g. if the previous examples are used in *waṣf* instead of *waḡf* (*sabsabba* ^ ... Jahn 1895-1900: I/2 30) and (*qāḍi Baḡdād* Jahn 1895-1900: I/2 39-40).

For us primarily the *mustaqīm ḥasan* vs. *mustaqīm qabīḥ* pair is interesting (it is also in the forefront of the interest of *naḥw*), since the *kalām* counterparts of the poetic licenses are mainly described as such.

3.3 *ḥaddā bāb mā yaḥtamīl aš-šīr*

Let us examine the short introductory chapter of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (H I, 26ff) where he treats the question of poems. From among the short general chapters in connection with the evaluation of linguistic data it is the most important since these few pages, even according to Sībawayhi, relate to a lot of data.²³ It does not give an intensive definition, but a survey with examples of linguistic phenomena permitted in poetry but not elsewhere. Here Sībawayhi calls our attention to that not all the poetic examples (*ṣawāḥid*) can be utilized in the course of the formation of grammatical rules. The authority of a grammatical rule (*qiyās*) is *kalām* (not defined). He does not really define the scope of the extra-possibilities of poetry, nor does he give a clue why poetry enjoys these possibilities. Sībawayhi enumerates the basic phenomena together with an illustration of one or two examples:

ṣarf mā lā yaṣṣarif
ḥadḥ mā lā yuḥḍaf
rubḥamā maddū [al-maqṣūr]
wa-qad yabluḡūna bi-l-mu'talli l-'aṣla (yuḡnūna fī l-waṣl 'alā ḥālīhi fī l-waḡf)
yaḥtamīlūna qubḥ al-kalām ḥattā yaḍa'ūhu fī ḡayri mawḍi'ihi
ḡa'alū bi-manzilāt ḡayrihi

This does not mean, however, that the special allowances or possibilities of poetry (or rather the poets) would be inexplicable and unaccountable for. Since during the enumeration he points out that these show two types of regular divergence from *naḥw*:

1.) *tašbīḥ*, i.e. recourse to the principle of similarity (*yuṣabbihuḥna bimā qad ḥuḍifa [fī l-kalām] wa-stu'mila maḥḍūfan*), which in other words means that, quite wrongly from the point of view of grammar, they extend or change the sphere of authority of a rule, but for some reason or other this has to be accepted from the poet. This reason may most probably be that these lines of poetry exist, they are propagated and the grammarian's work is to describe and not to judge the data from a normative point of view.²⁴ Besides *tašbīḥ* and its derivatives the term *manzila* is used for the explanation of licenses, e.g. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* (H) I, 31-2: *ḡa'alū mā lā yaḡṛ fī l-kalām 'illā ṣarfan bi-manzilāt ḡayrihi min al-'asmā' (min sawā'inā, min sawā'ikā).*²⁵

²³ *wa-mā yaḡṛu fī š-šīr 'aktaru min 'an 'adkuruḥu laka ḥḥund* (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* (H) I, 32, (B) I, 13).

²⁴ On normativity see Dévényi 1991. For a treatment of *kalām* see Talmon 1988.

²⁵ The relationship of *tašbīḥ* and *manzila* may best be characterized by that of the general rule and concrete morphological or phonological form. For the meaning of *manzila* see Versteegh 1978.

2.) Bringing a form back to its origin(al form) (*yabluḡīna bihi al-'aṣla*, or at other places: *aḡrawhu 'alā l-'aṣl*: Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* (H) III, 312-3, (B) II 58-9).²⁶

The poet according to Sībawayhi does not only have the possibility (*yaḡḏiz*) to use deviant forms but sometimes he is also compelled (*yudḡaru*) to have recourse to them. The use of two forms is not separated sharply, generally we have to do mainly with possibilities rather than constraint (*idḡirār*). However, it is important to emphasize that Sībawayhi never uses the word *ḡanīra* itself, although later it became the popular term for poetic license.²⁷ Nevertheless, he uses the verbal form, the

²⁶ Cf. al-Ḥadīṭī 1980:112 ff. This was called later *ar-radd* 'ilā l-'aṣl. But for Sībawayhi it does not mean the same as for later grammarians. He uses it only in a narrower sense, and so it can be considered to be a special case of *taṣbīḥ*. E.g. the form *rāddid* does not mean a return (*ruḡḡ*) to the original, but the *kasra* gets back to this form through its comparison to the many existing *fa'il* forms. It means that a (theoretically existing) original form **rāddid* is a necessary but not sufficient condition. If such forms did not actually exist (like *ḡālis*), then the *kasra* would not get back to this form either. This is represented by Muḥammad (1983:50) as follows: *rāddid* → *rādd* → *rāddid*

ḡālis
ḡāhib etc.

So it means that *rādd* is made similar to *ḡālis*, without simply returning to a (theoretically existing) original.

²⁷ The origin of the word *ḡanīra* is usually brought into connection with jurisprudence, cf. al-Ḥadīṭī 1980:93-4. Versteegh (1977:25, fn 42) connects the term *ḡanīra* with *necessitas* found in the classical literature. as-Sīrāfi, who uses exclusively this word in commenting on Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* wrote a long chapter (amounting to a short book) on this topic under the heading *ḡanīra* (for a linguistic analysis of as-Sīrāfi's collection see Iványi in print). This word, the usual term for poetic licenses up to our days, does not occur in the *Kitāb*, but occurs four times in the *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* of al-Farrā' (I, 125: 'illa ft š-šīr li-ḡanīratihī; I, 162: 'illa ft ḡanīrat aš-šīr; I, 315: wa-ḡāḏa ft š-šīr yaḡḏiz li-ḡanīrat al-qawāfi; and II, 321: li-ḡanīrat aš-šīr), according to Dévényi (*Farrā'-index*, under preparation). Sībawayhi, however, uses other derivations of the same word: *udḡarra*/*yudḡaru* and *idḡirār*. as-Sīrāfi (Jahn 1895-1900: I/2, 27-55; as-Sīrāfi, *Ṣarḥ* II, 95-256) gives a complete definition of the word, the essence of which is that the poet employs license (*ḡanīra*) to preserve the proper metric arrangement of the verse: *aš-šīr ... usūḡḡa fīhi li-taḡwīn waznihi min ziyāda wa-naḡṣn wa-ḡayr ḡālika mā lā yustaḡḏu ft l-kalām miḡlūhu*. But he adds in the end (not leaving doubt about what is the most important thing for a *naḡwī*) that a wrong usage of the 'rāb cannot be considered to be *ḡanīra*: *laysa ft šay'in min aḡ-ḡanīratī raf 'u mansībīn wa-lā naṣbu mahfūdīn wa-lā laṣṣan yakīnu l-mutakallimu fīhi lāḡinan wa-māḏ wuḡida ḡāḏa ft š-šīrī kāna sāḡītan muttarāḡan wa-lam yadḡul ft bāb ḡanīratī š-šīr* (Jahn 1895-1900: I/2, 27). From later times three compendia have become known on poetic licenses: Ibn 'Uṣṣūr's *Dard'ir*, al-Qazzāz's *Mā yaḡḏiz* and al-Ālūsī's *Dard'ir*. Rhetoricians and literary critics also treated the problem of poetic licenses, see e.g. Ibn Rašīq, 'Umda: "bāb ar-ruḡaṣ ft š-šīr".

European Arabists have considerably neglected the treatment of this phenomenon. For some references see (in chronological order) Birkeland 1940:29, 106; Rabin 1951:89, 131 and 1955:30-1; Fleisch 1961:276-80 and 1968:38-40; Corriente 1976:70 ff; Zwettler 1978:106, 110-1, 171, 177 n.41; and Fischer (ed.) 1982:42. The only valuable European consideration in this field is due to Wright (1898-99: II, 373-90) who gives a rather taxonomic but nevertheless comprehensive presentation of the theme.

mašdar and the participle, even if not very numerously.²⁸ It means that, though not exclusively, he uses the concept itself, but does not use the term created from it.²⁹ Besides a long list of verses he has only two short sentences in the form of a quasi-definition:

- (1) *yağūz fī š-šīrī mā lā yağūz fī l-kalām*

This contains two important points:

- (i) the possibility (*yahtamil* in the title of the chapter, while here *yağūz*)
 (ii) and the contrasting of *šīr* and *kalām* (whatever this latter means at Sībawayhi).

The field of poetic freedom is quite large, almost unlimited. There is only one thing restricting it: Even if poets do not employ the relevant rules, they have to employ some grammatical rules (*wağh*): *wa-laysa šay' yuḍḍarrūna 'ilayhi 'illā wa-hum yuḥāwīlūna bihi wağhan*. It is only this point that grammarians are interested in — the actual linguistic data can be divergent from what is considered to be regular, but the system of rules cannot be injured.³⁰

- (2) *laysa šay' yuḍḍarrūna 'ilayhi 'illā wa-hum yuḥāwīlūna bihi wağhan*.

This also contains two important points:

- (i) The poet acts (can act) under constraint. Sībawayhi mentions here *iḍṭirār*³¹

²⁸ According to Troupeau (1976:128) these forms are used 77, 13 and 6 times respectively, although his data at least in connection with *iḍṭirār* are inaccurate, because he does not mention the first occurrence I found to be at I, 72 (ed. Derenbourg = (B) I, 86 = (H) I, 169) and that makes altogether 14 occurrences.

²⁹ Later grammarians in general became more rigid in their approach to these *ḍarār*, so e.g. we find al-Mubarrad saying (*Kāmil* I, 213): *laysa 'aḥad min an-naḥwīyyīn al-muḥtāṣiṣīn yuḡṭi miḍla ḥādā fī ḍ-ḍarāra li-'annahu 'iddā nuwwina l-ism lam yattasīl bihi ḍ-ḍamṭ*. For Sībawayhi, these poetic licenses became acceptable as far as they can be explained with his methods. He says e.g.: *wa-mā'nāhā munawwana 'aw ḡayr munawwana sawā' li-'annahu law ḡāza fī l-kalām 'aw uḍḥarra ḡā'ir fa-qāla ṭaldṭatun 'abwāban kāna mā'nāhu mā'nā ṭaldṭatu 'abwābin*. His two methods used in explaining licenses are the very same methods which he uses in establishing correlations between the forms of the accepted speech, *al-kalām*: 1.) *tašbīḥ* and 2.) bringing back a form to its 'aṣl'. But this 'aṣl' differs basically from the 'aṣl' of later grammarians. as-Strāfi: *ṣarf mā lā yanṣarif wa-huwa ḡā'iz fī kulli l-'asmd' muṭṭarid fīhā li-'anna l-'asmd' 'aṣluhā ṣ-sarf wa-duḥīl al-tanwīn 'alayhā* (or: *radda l-kalām 'ilā 'aṣluhā*). Sībawayhi's 'aṣl' is a form which the *kalām* left for some good reason and to which the poetic (or dialectal) form now returns such as *ḡanīnā* instead of *ḡannīl*.

³⁰ Cf. Dévényi 1991 arguing for the rule-normativity of Arabic grammar versus its data-normativity.

³¹ Sībawayhi uses a great many times the term *iḍṭirār* and even more times *yağūz fī š-šīr*, but does not differentiate sharply between the two. There are only a few cases where he states that some irregularities of poetry are unnecessary because there was no *iḍṭirār* for the poet. Otherwise he uses the two without special rules. Later on this gave rise to a long lasting debate and discussion concerning whether the poet's being in a position of necessity (*lā mandūha lahu*) is an unavoidable prerequisite of the *ḍarāra* or not (on whether Sībawayhi considered necessity as a prerequisite for using licenses or not see e.g. 'Ibrāhīm 1983: 41-45). Once the grammarians had given a deviant linguistic form the status of *ḡanīra* it could be used in poetry without further necessity. The former view was held e.g. by Ibn Mālik (see e.g. Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* I, 156-8) while the second one by the so called *ḡumḥūr* (or: *ḡumḥūr al-baṣīyīn*) i.e. the majority, it was considered (and is still considered) as the consensus (see Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Insāf* 151, 316, 522; Ibn Ya'īs, *Šarḥ* III, 144; al-'Alūsī, *Ḍarār* 6; al-'Iḥdīt 1980:100-4; 'Ibrāhīm 1983:31 ff; cf. al-'Iḥdīt 1983:7 ff).

This view is reflected in Ibn 'Uṣfūr's definition (*Ḍarār* 6) where he gives all in all the same definition as as-Strāfi, leaving out, however, as-Strāfi's clause concerning *'rāb* and putting in a new

without giving any explanation as to its nature, but from this sentence we can assume that it was a well-known notion at that time, and even that there could be some discussions about it among grammarians (or grammarians, poets and *rāwīs*).

(ii) The poet's constraints or rather possibilities have their limits, this is the *waḡh*, which in a much simplified way means that the linguistic phenomenon under question (even if it belongs to an acknowledged dialect) is regarded regular in a certain environment or context (e.g. in *waḡf* or in *waṣl* etc.), but it is not in this environment that it occurs in the given poem (in *waṣl* instead of *waḡf* or the other way around).³²

This restriction is very important, since by it the sphere of the grammar's and grammarian's authority is secondarily extended over the deviant poetic material, which is, nevertheless, for some reason or other deemed acceptable.³³

Furthermore, grammarians were (and became in the century after Sībawayhi even more) sensitive for *ʿrāb*-faults not to occur among licenses.³⁴ There is an interesting and well known case showing how grammarians made efforts to keep up right *ʿrāb* endings in poetry. The somewhat extraordinary forms *bakur/an-naqur* and *bakir* (instead of *bakru(n)/an-naqru* and *bakri(n)* respectively) are allowed by Sībawayhi.³⁵ This *ḍamma* and *faṭḥa* are considered as *ʿrāb* endings shifted from the end of the word to the place of the *sukūn*. He does not, however, allow *bakar* (instead of *bakran*), because the indefinite accusative (*naṣb*) ending is not to be lost even in pause. Similarly, *ṣuqur(ā)* and *ḡilid(ā)* are not regarded as such and are handled and explained differently because these plus vowels before the last consonant do not reflect *ʿrāb* (though from a strictly linguistic point of view the two phenomena seem to be very similar to each other).

What does it mean then that the poet "yuhāwīlu waḡhan" or what was said earlier that with *radd ʿilā l-aṣl* or *taṣbīḥ* he creates forms which "yaḡūz fī š-šīr" but "lā yaḡūz fī l-kalām"? There is no answer, and in the first part there are no allusions either, to the question where the poet gets his permission from and why he is in need

sentence: *uḡṭṭura f-ṣāʿir ʿaw lam yuḡṭṭar*. And he gives an explanation which fits well into the methods of Arab grammarians: *li-ʿannahū fī mawḍiʿ ʿullīfat fīhī ḍ-ḍarḍʿir*, it is a customary place for *ḍarṭra*. From this time on there is no need to distinguish between "necessity" and "possibility", the two notions (which were even originally, at Sībawayhi, very much connected) now fell completely together.

³² Sībawayhi (*Kiṭāb* (H) I, 85), in discussing the verse **ʿalayya ḍanban kulluhu lam ʿasnaʿi** - cited above - remarks that this usage, although "weak", cannot be regarded simply a phenomenon of the poetry since it occurs outside poetry too, and in the same (linguistic) environment: *ʿfa-ḥaddā ḍaʿif wa-huwa bi-manzilatihi fī ḡayr aṣ-ṣīr*. Strāfi comments is as follows ('Ibrāhīm 1983:39-40, where he cites Strāfi from 'Abū s-Suʿūd's dissertation quoted earlier): *ʿwa-huwa maʿa qubḥihi ḡāʿiz fī l-kalām*.

³³ From collected and recognized poetry which was accepted as such, but could not be fitted into grammatical rules.

³⁴ Although the words denoting linguistic fault or false usage (*laḡn*, *ḡaṭaʿ*, etc.) rarely occur in the *Kiṭāb*, which fact, too, points to the basically descriptive character of his grammar.

³⁵ See Sībawayhi, *Kiṭāb* (H) IV, 173-4; (B) II, 284; aṣ-Šantamarī, *Tahṣīl* II, 340; on the Kufan and Basran controversy on this issue see Ibn al-Anbārī, *ʿInṣāf* II, 731-6, N° 106.

to turn to such special solutions.³⁶ But we can reverse the question and ask whether it is really the poet who does all this (*yaruddu / yuṣabbihu / yuḥāwīlu*)? Is it rather not the grammarian who attaches to the *naḥw* the linguistic data that he could not primarily embrace?³⁷

4. *yağūz fī š-šīr wa-lā yağūz fī l-kalām*

The following question arises in connection with the role of poetic *šawāhid* in Arabic grammar: How did they evaluate and on what basis did they select the poetic examples in the first century of grammar when we cannot speak of a normalized Arabic language and a normative grammar. In a simpler way: if *naḥw* relies (as I believe) mainly on poetic examples in the evaluation of 'arabiyya, then how does it say which are the poems or poetic lines that have to be excluded (totally rejected or marked as special) at the definition of the foundations of 'arabiyya.³⁸ So poems provide the basis for *al-ʿarabiyya*, some poetic examples are, however, still discarded from "good Arabic" and these can enter only with special "permits", i.e. *licentia*.

It is *al-kalām* in relation to which *ğawāz aš-šīr* or later *ḍanūra* is defined as something basically different from *al-kalām*. It seems at first sight (or rather it is suggested by later grammarians and some modern publications) to be a static notion, referring to an almost homogeneous and stable linguistic state. In this case we would

³⁶ Knowing the tribal-communal role of pre-Islamic poetry, and especially in case of the forms that are more archaic than the 6th century *qasīda*, namely e.g. *rağaz* and *sağ* it would be highly peculiar to suppose that the poet would *individually* depart from the linguistic expectations of his community, whether they relate to the spoken idiom, the tribal language, or to a solemn (poetic) language. For a connection between *rağaz* and *ḡarāʾir* see ʿAbdarraʾūf 1977:117 ff.

³⁷ Reading the Arab grammarians' works one can never know whether a tribal dialect or the usage of one group of the Arabs deviates from a really existing Arabic koinè or it is only an average or common part of the different tribal usages on which the grammarians base their rules. How could such poets of the *ğāhiliyya* as Labīd or Imru' l-Qays have wanted to aim at a *wağh*, i.e. a regular form of *kalām* (recognized by the linguists as such) which may not have existed at all. There are two conceptions concerning the linguistic situation in pre-Islamic times: the 'arabiyya was either a spoken language or a high variant of the spoken tribal dialects. In the first case it could not be uniform, in the second it could only be based on the poems and so it would be difficult to understand how so many poems could contain "deviant" forms — and deviant from what.

³⁸ One may answer to my question by simply saying that on the basis of everyday usage or on the basis of introspection, inner knowledge of the language. But why then the poetic *šawāhid* in the books of grammar? And we also know that Arabic grammar was from the very beginning corpus orientated and to a large extent descriptive. As concerning everyday usage, even if 'arabiyya had been a spoken language in the 8th century (even among the bedouins), they could not speak one and the same variant of this language. What was the basis of selection among data coming from various sources then? What linguistic feeling provided the basis for the distinction; what were the phenomena considered to be restricted to poetry? At the same time we have to take into consideration that the 'arabiyya did not and could not be absolutely different in all of its aspects from the spoken language, but only in certain special features (which, nevertheless, seemed decisive for the grammarians), and so they could rely upon the native speakers' linguistic instinct as well. We know from later sources many stories telling us which tribes were considered reliable in their usage by the Basrans or the Kufans, but in my opinion it belongs more to the domain of social history than to the history of language and linguistics. This, at the same time, provides a possibility for *total* dismissal, as well, though Sībawayhi does not furnish a lot of examples for it. He, as we shall see, is very lenient and avoids categorical decisions.

have *kalām* on the one hand and some anomalies called *qad yağūz fī š-šīr* (i.e. licenses, *qarā'ir*) on the other hand, which are allowed in poems but considered as secondary to *kalām*. The poet, for some reason or another, makes use of these deviant forms, which are allowed to him, but his decision seems to be arbitrary and individually motivated. This formula can be largely debated after analyzing Sībawayhi's book.

What is then *kalām* at Sībawayhi? It is surely not *prose* as is generally conceived by as-Sīrāfi³⁹ and later authors. To cite only some examples: *lā yağūz fī l-kalām 'illā fī š-šīr*, or at al-Farrā' (*Ma'ānī* I, 126) *miṭluhu min al-kalām fī š-šīr kaṭīr*. In these examples *kalām* is a general category, which partly overlaps *šīr*, while *šīr* forms part of *kalām*, but there are some places in poetry, which cannot be wholeheartedly called *kalām* - these are the licenses. Even those are not always altogether rejected as non-*kalām* (sometimes qualified as *qalīl* or *qabīḥ*), but it is said occasionally that this or that linguistic solution of the poetry cannot be accepted as *kalām*, *lā yağūz fī l-kalām*.⁴⁰

If we really want to understand the meaning of the *kalām* concept in this early period Arabic linguistics we have to take into consideration *all* of its occurrences and should try to understand why the grammarians did not use different words for the different "meanings" of one and the same category (and I think not only of *kalām*, but many other terms as well, such as *'atqal*, *'ahaff*, *ziyāda*, *naqṣ* etc.). In respect of poetic licenses it is not only the general term *al-kalām* that is significant but also its modified variants: *fī kalāmihim* (where *hum* means a tribe or group of people and not *al-'arab*); *fī kalām ba'd al-'arab*; *kalām man yaqūl* or *qawl man yaqūl*. In these cases *kalām* means variant or dialect or something like that - although one feels throughout the book that *kalām* always means one and the same thing - only in a very vague, indefinite way: (in a smaller or larger community) acceptable speech. So *kalām* has manyfold usage, it has only two main references:

- 1.) When operating *inside* language: acceptable speech act of any length.
- 2.) When referring to an *outside* level: an acceptable linguistic form of a community.⁴¹

Now let us take again *kalāmuhum* (as contrasted with *al-kalām*), *qawl ba'd al-'arab*, etc. which always refer to dialects (or language variants other than *al-kalām*). The occurrence of these terms are usually accompanied by qualifications such as *kaṭīr* vs. *qalīl* or *ḥasan* vs. *da'if/qabīḥ* and last but not least *šādd*. And it is at these points that we read: *wa-lākin yağūz fī š-šīr*. E.g. *qalīl fī l-kalām*; *fī kalām*

³⁹ To be exact, as-Sīrāfi, too considers *kalām* to be a general category when he speaks about (*Šarḥ* II, 95) *kalām manzūm / kalām manṭūr*.

⁴⁰ Even in cases when *šīr* and *kalām* are opposed to one another (*yağūz fī š-šīr wa-lā yağūz fī l-kalām*) it is better not to use the word *prose* in translating *kalām* (for a more detailed account of *kalām* and related terms and the question of their translatability see Iványi 1992). Anyhow, in the early Abbasid period when Sībawayhi's grammar was in formation one cannot really see what should be understood under *prose* - certainly not the religious literature which is referred to as *Qur'ān*, *qir'āt*, and *ḥadīṭ*.

⁴¹ All Sībawayhiian categories behave in this peculiar way: *ziyāda* / *naqṣ* - *ḥaḍf* - *'ahaff* / *'atqal* / *'aṣbah*, or the explanation of phenomena within *kalām* and for the connection of phenomena outside *kalām* with *kalām*. All have twofold references and are very vague - but there are no equivalents in European languages. So we do not feel inclined to translate them in many different ways.

ba'd al-ʿarab → *wa-yağūz fī š-šīr* (and sometimes: *ʿinda idtirār; ʿidā udturra*). So now we are at the source of these special *iḥtimālāt* or *idtirārāt* (later called *qarāʾir*). According to Sībawayhi these are forms, mainly coming from those dialects or speech variants, which are not altogether accepted by the grammarians or by those on whom this *ʿigṇā* had been founded.

Later sources are not eager to mention how *qarūra* is connected to dialectal variations but they are not always silent on this issue either. *Qarūra* or in Sībawayhi's language *mā yağūz fī š-šīr* then sheds light on the making of *ʿarabiyya*. Making — not in that much disputed way that they had invented forms but in gathering materials, deciding on their evaluation and selecting among them *kalām* forms, separating them from existing but not totally acceptable speech forms or variants. These are called *qalīl* or *šādd*, but could they be really *qalīl* if they occurred in the dialect of a whole tribe or tribes? They are surely not individual variants (it is not said about them and we can assure of this by ourselves, comparing them to the dialectal forms of our days) and they are not called *faults* (*lahn /ḥaṭaʾ*) either. But there are limits to the possibilities of *šīr*. Sībawayhi says: *ʿa-lā tarā ʿannahū lā yağūz laka ʿan taqūla: lam yaʿlam an-nās lanā maṣraʾ fa-taḥdifa l-ʿalifa li-ʿanna ḥāḍā lā yakūn fī l-kalām fa-huwa fī l-qawāfī lā yakūn*. It is possible, however, to elide the verbal plural -ū: *samiʿtu mimman yarwī ḥāḍā š-šīra min al-ʿarab yunšiduhu: mā šanaʿ* instead of *šanaʿū*.

There is just one interesting question which I would like to point out. Why is there a sharp difference in the handling of *qāfiya* and the other parts of the verse? I think first of all of the question of the so called *poetic pause*.⁴² Sībawayhi does not call them *iḥtimāl aš-šīr*, he simply says: it is used in *ʿinšād*. as-Sīrāfī, on the other hand, classifies the endings of the so called *qāfiya muṭlaqa* as "possibilities" of *qarāʾir* of the poetry while later *qarūra* handbooks return to Sībawayhi's standpoint and do not mention the lengthened vowels as *qarāʾir*. So it cannot be said (which is often said in the relevant Arabic literature) that *qarūra* is the differentiating factor between the language of prose and poetry. But why is *qāfiya muṭlaqa* not considered *qarūra* or something specially permitted, although it contradicts the grammarians' principles? The reason seems to be its general acceptance. Here we can see the limits of the grammarians' activities — they simply could not and did not want to refuse widely accepted forms, whereas in case of the peculiarity of a single dialect or dialect group they can have their voice, evaluating it, but permitting its use in poetry — which anyhow did exist without them as well.

5. *yağūz fī šīr wa-huwa qalīl fī kalāmihim*

The poetic licenses (i.e. *mā yağūz fī š-šīr*, or *qarāʾir*) can be shown to occur almost always together with expressions referring to dialectal usages (*kalāmuhum, qawluhum, luḡat man yaqūl*) and evaluating words such as *qalīl, lā takṭur, šādd*, and all this shows that Sībawayhi was well aware of the sources of some poetic deviances

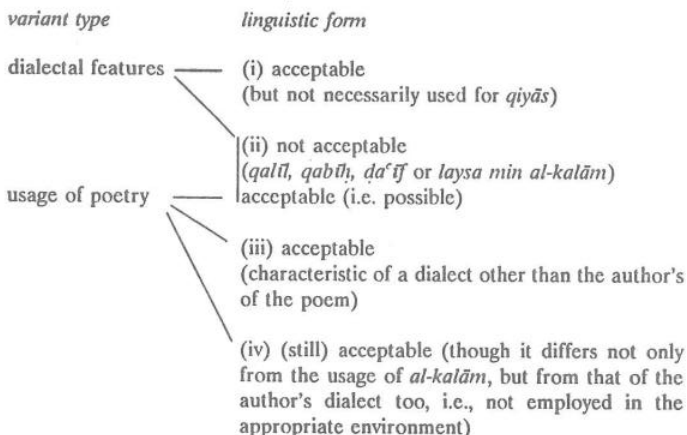
⁴² For Sībawayhi's views see *Kiṭāb* (H) IV, 202-16 on *al-ʿisbāʿ* and *wuḡūh al-qawāfī fī l-ʿinšād*. Cf. Wright 1896-98: II, 368-73; Fleisch 1961:190-3.

from the accepted speech, *kalām*, these were good Arabic (mainly spoken) forms excluded from *al-kalām* by 'iğmā' but still acknowledged as valid in poetry.

There are two scales or factors according to which one judged poetry and any other linguistic material at that time:

(i) An inner scale — how they fit into the system of grammatical rules (*wağh*/*qiyās*) that was formed on the basis of linguistic material of different origin.

(ii) An outside scale — whether there is an 'iğmā' regarding their acceptability. The correlation between dialectal features and the usage of poetry may be presented in the following simple way:



Finally, I would like to return to the title of my paper: *qad yağūz fī š-šī'r*. We can notice that Sībawayhi's remarks concerning the language of poetry and poetic data in general are always expressed in a modal language, which means the prefixation of *qad* in most of the cases to the evaluating sentence, e.g. *qad yağūz fī š-šī'r wa-fī ḍu'f min al-kalām* (*Kitāb* (H) I, 48). Similar expressions are: *wa-qad yurfa' hādā fī luḡat banī tamīm* (*Kitāb* (H) I, 384); *wa-qad takūn fī š-šī'r: hādā ḥātim ṭay' ... mustakrahan* (*Kitāb* (H) II, 24). On the contrary, he is always decisive in judging an utterance in respect to *kalām*, or evaluating a grammatical quasi-example beginning with *qawluka*, *taqūl*, and the like, or deciding what is to be considered *wağh al-kalām*, i.e. a correct usage based on a grammatical rule.

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THE *ŠAWĀ'IR AL-ĠĀHILIYYA*:
GRAMMAR DON'T MATTER MUCH

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Discussion of the grammar used by the *šawā'ir al-ġāhiliyya* is meaningful only within the framework of a much bigger context, and I must begin by referring to some of the larger problems; for, though it would be easy enough to focus solely on interesting grammatical features in the *šawā'ir al-ġāhiliyya*, that would be far too narrow a viewpoint and would do still further injustice to work that has been sadly mistreated over the centuries.

A full reappraisal of the scanty extant laments of the *šawā'ir al-ġāhiliyya* is long overdue, for very little has been done on them since Cheikho's *Šawā'ir al-ʿarab*. That was an excellent work for the time it was written showing Cheikho's scholarship at its not inconsiderable best. Though there is ample scope for a good book on the early women poets, I must make it clear that in my view the word 'good' precludes a doctrinaire feminist approach. It is true that the laments have been subject to the vagaries of male chauvinism and caprice since pre-Islamic times, but a dose of feminist treatment will simply take us to another unfortunate extreme and marginalise their work in a new but equally damaging way. A wide focus is essential; if we are to make the most of the surviving material; and it is within such a focus that grammar should be examined.

It is important, too, in looking at the corpus to remember that it is poetry, often good poetry. One of the saddest instances that I have come across of lack of appreciation by Arabs of a fine poem concerns a lament by Ġanūb al-Hudāliyya that begins:

sa'altu bi-'amrin 'ahī šahbahu lfa-afza'anī ḥīna raddū s-su'ālā.

I have asked a number of Arab scholars with excellent traditional learning and literary sensitivity whether they knew the poem. The answer has been uniformly, 'No, who is Ġanūb al-Hudāliyya?'. Yet as soon as I quote the first three syllables of line 18, as I shall do later, they are immediately able to finish the line. They know it by heart as one of the *šawāhid*. They know nothing of the rest of the twenty-five line poem, which is a moving lament for the death of her brother 'Amr Dū l-Kalb, killed by two mountain leopards.¹ Nor do they know anything of her splendid *bā'īyya*. There is surely something wrong when a poet of the quality of Ġanūb is remembered only by one line that has become one of the *šawāhid*.

This reduction of the general knowledge of Ġanūb's poetry to a single line epitomizes the drastic way in which the laments of the *šawā'ir al-ġāhiliyya* have suffered neglect or suppression. Most, if not all, of the suppression took place at the earliest stage of all, that of the incorporation of laments into what I will loosely call the original tribal *dīwān*, the poetry that along with a tribe's *'ahbār* and *'ansāb* helped to give the tribe its identity.

¹ All the poems quoted are to be found in Cheikho 1897. Ġanūb's *l. dīmiyya* is treated at length in my *Early Arabic Poetry*: 37-50.

It is an axiom of Arabic literary criticism that all women's laments refer to dead adult male relatives. This is a fair description of the material that has survived. But I ask you to think again. Just remember what the men poets have to say about women lamenting. A single example from the *Lāmiyyat al-'arab* (line 13) will suffice: *ka-'annahā murazza'atun taklā tarinnu wa-tū'wīlu* 'as though it were a woman, smitten and bereft of her child, screeching and howling'. Laments for children were clearly very common. It could hardly not be so. In societies similar to that of pre-Islamic Arabia, mortality is at its greatest during the first year of life. The next most dangerous period is from 1 to 5, followed by the teens when women begin bearing children and the men taking part in fighting. Yet it is only when we come to this last group that laments survive. The inescapable conclusion is that other laments were treated as ephemera, of no long-term interest to the tribe. However, it seems to me to be possible neither to deny their existence nor to suggest that they were wholly different in kind from the material that has survived. Clearly there would be some thematic changes — it is hardly possible to eulogize a stillborn child, for example, except perhaps as 'the unfulfilled hope of the tribe' — but the basic themes would be the same. It is perhaps possible to see something of the pattern that might have been used of a lament by an unknown woman that survives in the *Ḥamāsa* of 'Abū Tammām.²

Incidentally, it seems to be a mistake to try to see the *martiya* in terms of the *qaṣīda*, though this was done by the early Arab critics, who tend to consider the *riṭā'* as a type of *madīḥ*. Though this is not entirely unjustified, as the *martiya* will normally contain a eulogy of the dead man, and that is clearly *madīḥ* of a kind, praise of the dead and praise of the living are not quite the same, even though they draw on a common stock of ideas. It is also the case that the *martiya* appears to have its own structure: the evidence of the surviving material clearly shows that they evolved their own basic format: (a) news of death; (b) events leading to death (these two may be combined); (c) eulogy; (d) consolatory *ḥikma*. Not all these will necessarily be present, and other material, particularly threats against those responsible for the death, may well be included.

At present there is only one inference that I wish to draw from my initial reappraisal of the *riṭā'* genre: that it is probable (certain?) that women composers of *marāṭī* composed more material than we have hitherto been led to believe, i.e. they had greater experience of using the poetic register than we have supposed.

However, it would still appear to be the case that women were, by and large, only occasional composers of poetry. There were, it is clear, a few women who were poets in their own right, such as Laylā l-'Aṭīfa, wife of the poet al-Barrāq, and al-Ḥirniq, the sister of the poet Ṭarafa, but they appear to have been rare birds. Even so, and allowing for a greater general activity than has hitherto been imagined, we must assume that the move from listening to the recitation of poetry to the active composition of it would have been far from easy for the general run of *bedu* women who composed laments, and it is not unreasonable to expect that from time to time their compositions would show linguistic stress and throw up constructions that were some way from normal expectations.

² See Jones 1991:31-6.

Before going into detail, two general questions have to be broached. The first, the problem of authenticity, I can touch on only in the most general terms, basically by way of a brief statement of the position as I see it rather than through close argument.

Despite all the problems caused by oral transmission and the activities of some *rāwīs*, I feel confident that most of the surviving laments by the *šawā'ir al-ǧāhiliyya* are genuine. It is true that we do not have the safeguard of quotation by contemporary, *muḥadḍim* or Umayyad poets; but against that we can set the fact that there would have been little prestige for a *rāwī* in forging such *marāṭif* and also the fact that from time to time we have lines whose sentiment would have been totally unnatural to anyone with an Islamic background. Perhaps the most striking of these lines is one in the *riṭā'* by 'Amra al-Ḥaṭ'amīyya, a poem otherwise most notable for its grammatical peculiarities.³ The line runs:

bunayyā 'aǧūzin ḥarrama d-dahrū 'ahlahā ||
ša-laysa lahā 'illā l-'ilāhu siwāhumā

Two dear sons of an old woman, whom Fortune has deprived of her family.

Other than the two of them all she has is God.

Though at first glance the presence of *ḥarrama* and *al-'ilāh* might appear to indicate strong Islamic influence, the reverse is the case. The word that carries most force in the line is undoubtedly *ad-dahr*, which clearly transcends *al-'ilāh*. That could well be a natural expression for someone who had learned something about God but not all that much, a stance quite conceivable for a member of the Ḥaṭ'am tribe which had some links with Naǧrān and its Christians. I find it very difficult to imagine anyone in the Islamic period producing such a line. Moreover, there is a grammatical point in favour of an early date, though it does not come out in single-line quotation. The initial *bunayyā*, which is undoubtedly a genitive form, is apposition to the *humā* in *siwāhumā* that ends the previous line. The use of *ā(ni)* for all three cases was a feature of the northern Yemeni group of dialects to which Ḥaṭ'am belonged.⁴

That brings us to the second general problem, the relationship between the poetic register and the language normally used by women poets, their own dialects. The basic problem here is to establish the range of registers that were in use. Clearly poetry was the most complex of the registers current, not only because of its very nature, but also on account of the pressures put upon it by the constraints of metre and rhyme. Examination of any reasonable quantity of the surviving material, e.g. the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, makes this clear. That is not possible with the registers that lie between poetry and the dialects. Owing to the disappearance of virtually all the evidence, we can do little more than say what they were, or rather who used them, and little else. First we have the language used by the *kāhins*; then that used by the *ḥaṭibs*; and finally there is that of the storytellers. Of the former two virtually nothing survives; and with the *'alḥbār* material of the storytellers we have nothing that is ancient but only much later recastings. Not all is lost because these registers must be those employed in its own inimitable way by the Qur'ān. The other register that was clearly current if we take all the references to written traces in poetry at

³ See Jones 1991:51-7.

⁴ See Rabin 1951:64 ff.

anywhere near face value was a written one. This is, however, hardly likely to have affected the women poets.

The existence of these registers indicates a much more complex linguistic situation than has normally been considered to be the case. For most people, of course, it would not be a question of active use of the registers, but they would certainly be accustomed to them passively as hearers of poetry, *ḥuṭhas*, *ʿalḥbār* and *ʿansāb*. One can only guess at the effect of this. Perhaps knowledge of a range of registers was of some help when the women had to move from passive use, listening to poetry, to active use, composing a lament.

Another way in which the women were helped was through the distinctiveness of the *martiya* that kept it slightly apart from the mainstream of poetry. This arose not only with the general framework to which I have alluded and the very ample stock of commonplaces and clichés on which the composers of laments could draw. There is also evidence of rhythmic peculiarities that led to *musammaṭ*-like break-up of lines. Several instances of this survive, the most striking being some lines by al-Fāriḥa bint Šaddād:

šahhādu ʿandiyatin | raffāʿu ʿabniyatin |
šaddādu ʿalwiyatin | fattāḥu ʿasḍādi
naḥḥāru rāḡiyatin | qattālu ṭāḡiyatin |
ḥallālu rābiyatin | šakkāku ʿaḡyādi
qawwālu muḥkamatin | naqqādu mubramatin |
farrāḡu mubhamatin | ḥabbāsu ʿawrādi
ḥallālu mumri ʿatin | ḥammālu mudli ʿatin |
farrāḡu muḥzi ʿatin | ṭallāʿu ʿanḡādi

However, poetic composition involves more than the use of frameworks, stock ideas and rhythmic patterns; and it appears that their final means of escape from the conflicting pressures of grammar and metre, pressures that they must have felt frequently, was to approximate in grammar, to use constructions that were abnormal, *stricto sensu*, but which any alert person could understand.

There is another factor that must have been of considerable importance. The basic belief, expressed very clearly by such poets as al-ʿAʿšā, is that each male tribal poet had a *ḥalīl* (the Greek *δαίμων*). We have no evidence whether it was believed that a woman such as al-Ḥirniq, apparently the composer of a fair amount of poetry, was thought of as having a *ḥalīl*. At a slightly later stage the impression to be derived from the stories about al-Ḥansāʾ is that although hers was a poetic family, it was her grief rather than a *ḥalīl* that drove her on. This is in line with the vague overall impression that we gather from the corpus: that grief was the driving force in the composition of *marāṭif*, and that emotion replaced the force of the *ḥalīl*. If that is so, it puts the women composers of *marāṭif* further outside the poetic mainstream.

It is in the light of the above comments that I now wish to draw attention to some of the more striking grammatical peculiarities of the women's laments. They are offered as appetizers, in the hope that more attention will be paid to the pre-Islamic *marāṭif*.

By far the best known of these grammatical peculiarities is the line by ʿĠanūb to which I have already referred (*Lāmiyya*, line 18):

bi-'anka rabī'un wa-ḡaytun marī'un |
wa-'anka hunāka takūnu t-timālā

It seems to me to be clear that the poet found herself with a syllable too many in each hemistich, and that her extremely sensible solution was to chop 'anna down to 'an.

Later grammarians found this version of the line disturbing and plumped for a text that avoided the problem:

bi-'annaka kunta r-rabī'a l-muḡī'a |
li-man ya'tafika wa-kunta t-timālā

This is by no means the only phrase of striking grammar from Ḡanūb. A third poem by her opens with an unusual and, it seems to me, very eloquent twist on *layta*:

yā layta 'amran — wa-mā laytun bi-nāfi 'atin

There is of course nothing that one can complain about here, but the phrasing is unusual and the grammar has a neat and natural twist.

Perhaps the most striking poem for the wealth of its oddities is that by 'Amra l-Ḥaṭ'amiyya, to which I have already referred. The rhyme of the poem is in *humā*, referring to her two sons who had been slain in battle. One might have expected her to get in trouble with the dual, but oddly enough precisely the opposite is the case. She uses the dual *mawlayāhumā* instead of *mawālīhimā* when the latter fits neither rhyme nor metre. However, other aspects of the poetic register land her in serious trouble. She appears to have used *bi-* with the nominative: *wā bi-'anā humā* when *bī* (or *biya* or *biyya*) does not fit. Here too, the grammarians are deeply unhappy. However, the alternative reading that many of them support *wā bi-'abā humā* not only poses more serious grammatical problems but also has an inappropriate sense. 'Amra follows this with a hemistich that is to be savoured:

humā 'ahawā fī l-qawmī man lā 'ahā lahu

The phraseology, which looks more like 14 years old than 1,400, is surely that of a woman having serious trouble with the poetic register. It may well be that the composition of this poem was the only time she had to use it.

If we go back still further in time, to the murder of Kulayb and the start of the war of al-Basūs, we find various poems attributed to his female relatives, in which different kinds of unusual phraseology crop up that look as though they are the result of poetic necessity, and not, it would seem, the work of a *rāwī*. (If it was the work of a *rāwī*, he has had to wait a long time for his subtlety to be recognised.) Both Ḡaṭīla, Kulayb's wife, and 'Amra, his sister, use the vocative *yā kulaybun* for metrical reasons; and Ḡaṭīla has a hemistich that is technically correct but seems to strain with every word:

mā 'azunnu d-dahra ya'tī miṭlahu

More striking is a hemistich by one of Kulayb's daughters, 'Umāma:

yubah damuhu sudan ka-dami l-ba'īri

'Asmā', too, provides the parallel:

man yuballighī l-hima min ba'di

In both cases the imperfect will not fit, and so the jussive is used. The ready dropping of a syllable is of course parallel to Ḡanūb's *bi-'anka*. Pragmatism seems to be the order of the day. There is contrast here with what we find in al-Ḥirniq, where it is archaisms such as *wa-qad ta'damu l-ḥasnā'u dāmā* or the simple 'ar'athu that strike the eye. Archaisms are not absent from the *marāṭī* — Ḡaṭīla, for example, provides

us with *man qad yasūduhā* — but they appear less frequent than the grammatical twists.

With other cases, such as Bint Waṭīma's *wa-ḥmarra 'āfāqu s-samā'i*, it is a moot point whether archaism or *ḍanīrat aš-šif'r* is involved.

The examples I have quoted seem to me to show a refreshingly sane and sensible approach to grammar. When necessary, the grammar is subordinated to metre and to rhyme, but in a way that remains comprehensible, however much the ensuing phraseology may have offended the susceptibilities of some of the later grammarians. There is none of the violence that we see in the morphological truncations of some of the men poets such as Labīd's *manā*, apparently for *manzili*, not even *manāzili*, or 'Alqama's *sabā* for *sabā'ibu*.

It will be some time before my new collection of the surviving poems of the *šawā'ir al-ghāhiliyya* is ready. In the meantime, I urge you to turn to Cheikho's edition of *Šawā'ir al-ʿarab*. The material it contains is always interesting, and some of the poems are really rather good.

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THE STANDARDIZATION OF QUR'ĀN READINGS: THE TESTIMONIAL VALUE OF DREAMS

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1. General Background: The Authority of Dreams in Classical Islam¹

Authorization in Islam is often achieved on the basis of prophetic *ḥadīth* formulated to legitimate the topic under discussion. The topic of dreams in Islam is no exception to this rule in the sense that the authority given to their usage as a reliable source is also based on prophetic sayings. Each one of the canonical *ḥadīth* collections adduces a chapter on dreams, and so do over ninety percent of other *ḥadīth* collections.² In a standard chapter on dreams in a *ḥadīth* collection we usually find some prophetic sayings about dreams alongside a few narrations of dreams. These are adduced to establish the reliability of dreams and to supply a legitimation of the usage of dreams as a source of guidance.

Prophetic sayings about dreams, although presented in a variety of versions, do not exceed more than two basic ideas: one defines dreams as part of prophecy,³ and the other declares that a vision of the Prophet in a dreams is deemed equal to his actual appearance.⁴

Furthermore we find a pair of sayings that should be understood as precautions taken against a misleading usage of dreams. They come in the form of a threat addressed to those who fabricate dreams: 'He who lies about his dream deliberately (in other versions without the word 'deliberately'), will have to join a barley corn on the day of judgement and he will not be able to do so.'⁵

¹ This topic has been examined in a previous study of mine (Kinberg forthcoming). Here only a short summary is given.

² See, for example (in chronological order): Mālik b. 'Anas (d. 179/795), *al-Muwatta'*; 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī 'Abdarrazzaq b. Hammām al-Himyarī (d. 211/826), *al-Muṣṣanaf*; 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abī Šayba (d. 235/849), *al-Muṣṣanaf* ft *l-ahādīth wa-l-āḥādīth*; 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Alī b. Balabān al-Fārisī (d. 739/1308), *al-Iḥṣān bi-tarīf Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Hibbān* (d. 301/913); Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Hākim an-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014), *al-Mustadrak 'alā ṣ-ṣaḥīḥayn ft l-ḥadīth*; 'Abū Bakr al-Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1065), *Ši'ab al-ʿimān*; idem. *K. al-ʿaddab*; Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Bagawī (d. 516/1122), *Maṣābiḥ as-sunna*; 'Abū l-Farağ 'Abdarrahmān b. 'Alī Ibn al-Ḡawzī (d. 597/1200), *Kiṭāb al-ḥaddā'iq ft 'ilm al-ḥadīth wa-z-zuhdiyyāt*; 'Alī b. 'Abī Bakr al-Hayṭamī (d. 807/1404), *Maḡma' az-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id*; idem., *Kaṣf al-ʿasṭar 'an zawā'id al-bazzār*; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448), *al-Maḡalib al-ʿāliya bi-zawā'id al-masānid al-ʿimāniyya*; 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī (d. 975/1567), *Kanz al-ʿummāl ft sunan al-aqwal wa-l-ʿafʿāl*.

³ Wensinck, 1936-64: I, 181 (*b.ṣ.*). For a list of references see Kinberg forthcoming: note 12.

⁴ Wensinck 1936-64: VII, 53 (*n.w.m.*). For a list of references see Kinberg forthcoming: note 16. See also note 7 below.

⁵ Wensinck 1936-64: V, 549 (*k.d.b.*). See also note 9 below.

We also find *ḥadīṭs* that encourage the dreamer to act according to his dream, ensuring him that it is possible to distinguish right from wrong⁶ and the Prophet's advice from the devil's delusion.⁷ These sayings supply an almost absolute guarantee as to the ability of a person to decide whether to follow a dream or not.⁸ In this manner these sayings further strengthen the authority of dreams.

All these *ḥadīṭs* actually attest to the process of the penetration of dreams into the Islamic community, a process which was, most likely, very similar to that of the *ḥadīṭ*: First, people related dreams, then a theoretical foundation was built up to authorize the usage of dreams; at the same time the narration of dreams already flourished, and consequently there was a need to stop, or at least to restrain the flood of dream narrations. In order to fight forgeries, the *ḥadīṭ* threatened those who invented dreams. These were similar to other traditions which were formulated to attack the fabrication of prophetic *ḥadīṭs* (in both cases the penalty of forgery is Hell).⁹ Hence, we may notice a common denominator shared by dreams and by prophetic *ḥadīṭs*: high esteem which on the one hand enabled one to consider the message delivered through any of these mediums authoritative and, on the other hand demanded a strict examination of reliability. The message delivered through these dreams is individual by definition; it nevertheless has implications for the whole community. The experience described in each of these dreams meant to be taken as a peerless model for daily pious behaviour. In this respect dreams should be compared with edifying *ḥadīṭ*.¹⁰

Whether we define dreams as a genre in its own right, or as a sub-genre of *ḥadīṭ*, or else as a special literary form of edifying *ḥadīṭ*, its extensive usage is beyond any doubt. The legitimization of the usage of dreams created in Islam a situation in which various groups could easily record dreams in order to justify their own ways of behaviour. Our examination of dreams, therefore, should not differ from the analysis of *ḥadīṭ*, since both are products of given circumstances which prevailed at a given time and place, and both were narrated to answer certain questions or to approve of existing phenomena; both, therefore, should be treated as the mirror of their environment.

In the following pages I will limit myself to a few dream narrations which treat Qur'ānic readings and Qur'ān readers. While keeping in mind that dreams in Islamic literature may reproduce differences and developments within the Islamic community, I will show the possible contribution of these narratives to the understanding of the standardization of Qur'ānic readings.

⁶ "If any of you sees a dream he likes, it is from Allāh; he should thank God for it and tell it [to others] ...", Wensinck 1936-64: II, 206 (r. y).

⁷ The Devil will never take the Prophet's image in a dream. For further elaboration see Kinberg forthcoming: notes 16, 18 and the equivalent pages there. See also note 4 above.

⁸ For a possible comparison with the concept of *'iḡmā'*, see Kinberg forthcoming: notes 36, 37 and the equivalent pages there.

⁹ For further elaboration see Kinberg forthcoming: notes 19-23 and the equivalent pages there. See also note 5 above.

¹⁰ For dreams as an edifying means see my introduction to Ibn 'Abī d-Dunyā, *Manām*. See also Kinberg forthcoming: note 42 and the equivalent pages there.

2. Dreams dealing with Qur'ān readings¹¹

Q. 49.14

In a dream, Raḡaba b. Maṣḡala (d. 129/747)¹² reads the Qur'ān to the Prophet and says: *qālat al-'a'rāb 'āmannā* (Q. 49.14). To that the Prophet says: "don't say *qālat al-'a'rāb 'āmannā* (= we believed); say: *qālat al-'a'rāb 'aminnā* (= by embracing Islam we gained security).¹³ The text is not vocalized, but when the word under discussion is mentioned for the first time, it has (in the manuscript) an 'alif *mamdūda*, whereas in the second time it has a regular 'alif. It is hard to tell whether we have here a different reading or a gloss. It is very clear, however, that we are presented with an echo of a debate, in which one side tries to gain the Prophet's support through a dream. We may regard this rare anecdote as an example of a source in which an old reading has been preserved. We do not have a documentation of this reading (or gloss) in any other source. My reading is based on the *intention* of the verse, expressed in the commentaries which deal with the '*asbāb an-nuzūl* to this verse.¹⁴

Q. 37.1-3, 94

al-Kisā'ī (d. 182/798),¹⁵ sees the Prophet in his dream. The Prophet asks him to read the Qur'ān and al-Kisā'ī begins with *Sūrat aṣ-Ṣāffāt*. As to the first verses (*wa-ṣ-ṣāffātī ṣaffan fa-z-zāḡirātī zaḡran fa-t-tāliyātī ḡikran*), the Prophet prohibits him the assimilation of the *tā'* with the first consonant of each of the following words.¹⁶ al-Kisā'ī continues his reading until he reaches verse 94, where he reads *fa-'aḡbalū 'ilayhi yazifūna*. The Prophet stops al-Kisā'ī and says: "you did well, but don't say *yazifūna*". No alternative is given. The Prophet then adds: "I will have you compete with the angels, or (according to another version) with the other Qur'ān readers".¹⁷

Although the text is not vocalized, we may assume that this narration has preserved al-Kisā'ī's reading, which is adduced as *yazifūna*.¹⁸ As to the preferable reading, the Prophet says nothing. The Qur'ānic text of today reads *yaziffūna*, with gemination of the *fā'*, but *qirā'āt* books adduce other readings as well.¹⁹ Attention

¹¹ The narrations are arranged chronologically, according to the time of the dream narrator.

¹² For his biography see aḡ-Dahabī, *Siyar* VI, 156 and the bibliography there.

¹³ Ibn 'Abī d-Dunyā, *Mamām* # 115.

¹⁴ For example see: Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl* 479; Ibn Qutayba, *Tafsīr* 416; al-Tabarī, *Ġāmi'* XXVI, 90; az-Zaḡḡāḡ, *Ma'ānī* V, 39; al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* XVI, 348; Ibn 'Ijāyān, *Bahr* VIII, 117; aṣ-Ṣawkānī, *Fath* V, 68.

¹⁵ For biographical details and other dreams about al-Kisā'ī see "Dreams dealing with Qur'ān readers" below.

¹⁶ Cf. Ibn Muḡāhid, *Sab'a* 546 and the explanation in note (1) there. See also Ibn 'Iḡālawayhi, *Huḡḡa* 274-5; Ibn ḡalbūn, *Taḡkira* II, 635; Ibn 'Iḡālaf, *'Unwān* 161; al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* XV, 61.

¹⁷ al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'rīḡ* XI, 409-10; cf. *Ibid.* 409, 410; Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Nuḡha* 62.

¹⁸ al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* XV, 95.

¹⁹ For examination of different readings see (in chronological order): Ibn Muḡāhid, *Sab'a* 548; Ibn 'Iḡālawayhi, *Huḡḡa* 274-5; Ibn ḡalbūn, *Taḡkira* II, 636-7; Ibn Zangāla, *Iḡuḡḡa* 609; Makki, *Kaṣf* II, 225.

should be drawn to the fact that no change of consonants nor of meaning is offered here. Our narration rather focuses on the question of the right pronunciation of the unvocalized text.

Q. 2.106, 128

'Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/839)²⁰ tells that 'Abū Nu'aym al-Qāri' (= Šuḡā' b. 'Abī Naṣr, d. 190/806)²¹ saw the Prophet in his dream and read the Qur'ān to him according to the reading of 'Abū 'Amr b. 'Alā'. The only two verses which the Prophet changed were 2.106: 'aw nunsihā instead of 'aw nansa'hā and 2.128: 'arinā instead of 'amā.²² It should be noticed that the changes in neither of the two places touch the consonants. In the first, the root *n.s.y.*, which means "to forget" is preferred, and the root *n.s.'*, which has the meaning of "to delay" is ruled out;²³ the second example examines the way in which the *hamza* determines the vocalization of *rā'*.²⁴

Q. 14.22

There are cases in which the Lord Himself appears in a dream to support a Qur'ān reading. Such is the next case, which tells about Ḥalaf b. Hišām, one of the ten authorized Qur'ān readers (d. 228/843).²⁵ Ḥalaf b. Hišām appears in a dream telling that the Lord has forgiven him and asked him to read the Qur'ān to Him. So he does, and the only place the Lord changes his reading is *Sūrat Ibrāhīm* (Q. 14. 22).²⁶ Since the text is unvocalized it is hard to know which reading was presented as preferable. It seems, however, that the word under discussion was *bi-muṣrihiyya*, which, according to the readings collections, can be read also *bi-muṣrihiyyi*.²⁷ This reading, as the others discussed above, does not deviate from the consonantal skeleton of the text, but rather treats its vocalization.

²⁰ For his biography see Ibn al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 17; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* X, 490 and the bibliography there. See also the introduction to 'Abū 'Ubayd, *Ḥuṭab* 7-75; and Burton 1987:50.

²¹ For his biography see Ibn al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 324.

²² al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* II, 68, 127; Ibn al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 291; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Ma'rifa* 84. Cf. Ibn Muḡāhid, *Sab'a* 82, and the dreams about 'Amr b. 'Alā' in "Dreams dealing with Qur'ān readers" below.

²³ al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* II, 68. For examination of different readings see: 'Abū 'Ubayd, *Nāsikh* 4-5; as-Sigistānī, *Masādhif* 107-8; Ibn Muḡāhid, *Sab'a* 168-9; Ibn Ḥalawayhi, *Ḥuḡḡa* 63; Ibn Ḥalawayhi, *Šawādd* 16; al-Fārisī, *Ḥuḡḡa* II, 185-202; Ibn Ġalbūn, *Tadkira* II, 320; Ibn Zangala, *Ḥuḡḡa* 109-10; Ibn Ḥalaf, *Unwān* 71; al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* XV, 95-6; Makkī, *Kaṣf* I, 257-60; as-Samīn, *Durr* II, 58-60. See also Wansbrough 1977:196 where *nansa'* is translated as "to defer".

²⁴ Ibn Zangala, *Ḥuḡḡa* 114-5; al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* II, 128. For examination of different readings see Ibn Muḡāhid, *Sab'a* 170-1; Ibn Ġalbūn, *Tadkira* II, 322; as-Samīn, *Durr* II, 118-9.

²⁵ For his biography see Ibn al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 272; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* X, 576 and the bibliography there.

²⁶ al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* VIII, 327.

²⁷ For the examination of both readings see: Ibn Muḡāhid, *Sab'a* 362; Ibn Ḥalawayhi, *Ḥuḡḡa* 178; Ibn Ġinnī, *Muḥtasab* II, 49; Makkī, *Kaṣf* II, 26-7; Ibn Ḥalaf, *Unwān* 115; 'Abū Ḥayyān, *Tadkira* 34. See also al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī* II, 75-6; al-Qurṭubī, *Ġāmi'* IX, 357.

Q. 20.58

'Abū 'Uṭmān al-Māzinī (Bakr b. Muḥammad, d. 249/863)²⁸ sees the Prophet in his dream and reads to him *Sūrat Tāhā*. When he reaches verse 58 he reads *makānan siwan*. The Prophet corrects him and says: "read *suwan*, read according to the reading of Ya'qūb" (= 'Abū Muḥammad Ya'qūb b. 'Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the ten authorized Qur'an readers, d. 250/864).²⁹ As in the previous examples, no vocalization is indicated. We find, however, that Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī followed the readings of 'Āṣim and Ḥamza;³⁰ we also find that 'Āṣim and Ḥamza used to read *suwan*.³¹ The meaning of both readings is the same and, according to al-Ṭabarī, both forms exist in the language.³²

Assimilation (= 'idgām)

'Abū l-'Abbās b. Masrūq (d. 298/911)³³ tells that he heard 'Abū Ḥamdūn the Qur'an reader (aṭ-Ṭayyib b. 'Ismā'īl, d. 240/855)³⁴ telling that one night, while praying, he read a Qur'anic verse with 'idgām. He then fell asleep and in his dream he saw as if light wrapped his neck. He also heard the light saying: "The Lord is between me (the light) and you ('Abū Ḥamdūn)". 'Abū Ḥamdūn wonders about the light's identity and finds out that it represents the one consonant he assimilated in reading. 'Abū Ḥamdūn then promises not to do it again. He wakes up and tells that from this moment on he will never read with assimilation again.³⁵

This dream narration does not treat a reading of a particular verse, but rather deals with the general question of reading the Qur'an with or without assimilation. as-Sihāwī offers an explanation for this dream narration by reporting that 'Abū Ḥamdūn followed both the reading of al-Kisā'ī³⁶ and that of Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī.³⁷ The latter was known for avoiding assimilation, and so, assumes as-Sihāwī, al-Kisā'ī's influence is prominent in this case.³⁸ It is not entirely clear whether the intention of the narration is to negate 'idgām in general, or to criticize one instance in which 'idgām must not have been used. The instruction delivered

²⁸ For his biography see Ibn al-Ğazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 179.

²⁹ Ibn al-Ğazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 386; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* X, 173 and note (3) there; Ibn Ğalbūn, *Tadkira* I, 82 and note (5) there. For his biography see Ibn al-Ğazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 386; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* X, 169 and the bibliography there.

³⁰ Ibn al-Ğazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 386.

³¹ Ibn Muğāhid, *Sab'a* 418. Cf. al-Qurṭubī, *Ğāmi'* XI, 212-3.

³² al-Ṭabarī, *Ğāmi'* XVI, 134. See also Ibn Ḥalawayhi, *Ḥuḡḡa* 216; Ibn Ḥalawayhi, *Šawādd* 90; Makkī, *Kašf* II, 98; Ibn Ḥalaf, *Unwān* 129.

³³ For his biography see aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* XIII, 494 and the bibliography there.

³⁴ For his biography see Ibn al-Ğazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 343; al-Bağdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* IX, 360.

³⁵ as-Sihāwī, *Ğāmi'* II, 486; Ibn al-Ğazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 344; al-Bağdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* IX, 361.

³⁶ See note 71 below.

³⁷ See note 29 above.

³⁸ as-Sihāwī, *Ğāmi'* II, 487.

through the dream is nevertheless apparent: an improper reading might prevent even a pious and ascetic Muslim like 'Abū Ḥamdūn from reaching the Lord.

Q. 1.4; Q. 2.7

Due to the character of the Arabic script, in most of the dreams that deal with readings, the change offered is not defined in a precise way. There are, however, dream narrations that are very accurate and leave no doubt as to the preferable reading. Such is the case with the expression *māliki yawmi d-dīn* of Q. 1.4: *mālik* with a long vowel, or *malik* with a short one. The dream account that deals with this question uses accurate terms, and states the preferable reading precisely.

'Aḥmad b. Kāmil (d. 350/961), who was a Qāḍī in Baghdad,³⁹ tells that in his dream he saw the Prophet standing in the mosque. 'Aḥmad approaches the Prophet and begins to read him the Qur'ān, starting with *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*. When he reaches *maliki yawmi d-dīn* he addresses the Prophet asking: "how am I going to read it? *malik*, or *mālik*?" The Prophet answers *maliki yawmi d-dīn*. To avoid any doubt 'Aḥmad further asks: "with an 'alif, or without an 'alif" and the Prophet answers: "without an 'alif". Then 'Aḥmad continues and reaches the seventh verse of *Sūrat al-Baqara* and reads: *ḥatama Allāhu 'alā qulūbihim*. To that the Prophet says: *ḥatama Allāhu 'alā 'af'idatihim*, pronouncing the last word with a glottal stop. 'Aḥmad tells that still in his dream it occurred to him that the Prophet's intention was to teach him that the word *qalb* means *fu'ād*.⁴⁰

Here we have a combination of a reading and a gloss. The different readings of *māliki yawmi d-dīn* and *maliki yawmi d-dīn* are mentioned in every collection of readings,⁴¹ and naturally in Qur'ān commentaries. However, neither *tafsīr* works, nor do *qirā'āt* books mention a change of reading from *'alā qulūbihim* to *'alā 'af'idatihim*, which might indicate that we do not deal here with a reading, but rather a gloss. To prove this point I will use al-Qurtubī's commentary to this verse. While dealing with the word *qalb*, al-Qurtubī mentions that *qalb* can mean both heart and brain. In this verse, according to al-Qurtubī, *qalb* means heart.⁴² This second part of the dream may very well reflect a discussion about the meaning of the word *qalb*, which was solved by a prophetic guidance that reached the believers through a dream.

All the examples adduced above, including the last one, treat the consonantal skeleton as a substratum from which no deviation can be made. We may assume, therefore, that these examples belong to the time in which the 'Uṣmānic codex of the Qur'ān already gained its authority and eliminated the other early *maṣāḥif* of the Qur'ān.

³⁹ For his biography see Ibn al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 98; al-Dahabī, *Siyar* XV, 544 and the bibliography there. See also note 85 below.

⁴⁰ al-Baghdādī, *Ta'wīḥ* IV, 358.

⁴¹ See for example as-Sigistānī, *Maṣāḥif* 103-6; Ibn Muḡāhid *Sab'a* 104-5; Ibn Ḥalawayhi, *Ḥuḡḡa* 38; Ibn Ḥalawayhi, *Ṣawāḍ* 9; al-Fārisī *Ḥuḡḡa* I, 7-49; Ibn Ḡalībūn, *Tadkira* I, 85; Ibn Zangala *Ḥuḡḡa* 77-9; Ibn Ḥalaf, *Ummān* 67; as-Sam'ānī, *Durr* I, 47-54.

⁴² al-Qurtubī, *Ġāmi'* I, 189; al-Fārisī, *Ḥuḡḡa* I, 301-9.

The next narration is a reflection of a later stage in which a reluctance to examine the differences between Qur'ān readings has already prevailed: The Wazīr of al-Qā'im bi-'Amrillāh, Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Aḥmad b. al-Muslima (d. 450/1058)⁴³ saw 'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Haddā' after his death in a dream. The latter was known as a Qur'ān reader (d. 415/1024).⁴⁴ Three times the dreamer asks the deceased as to what God has done with him, and each time he receives the answer that the Lord has forgiven him. Then the dreamer asks about the controversies concerning the Qur'ān readings, and the answer he receives is: "all of them are one".⁴⁵

While keeping in mind that dream narrations reflect the spirit of the time in which they were formulated, we may assume that the last dream, which does not agree with the meticulous arguments and discussions about differences of readings but rather calls for standardization, also fits the time in which it was created, namely the first half of the 5th/11th century (the dream narrator died in 450/1058).

The following examination of dreams that deal with Qur'ān readers enables us to go one century backwards and show that the process of the standardization of the Qur'ān readings had already begun in the 4th/10th century.

3. Dreams dealing with Qur'ān readers⁴⁶

Dreams in which Qur'ān readers appear are, in most cases, laudatory. In this sense they are not different from other dreams adduced in biographical works.⁴⁷ They all follow one basic pattern: An image from the afterworld appears in a dream of a living person and tells about its condition, usually a favourable one. When asked, the deceased explains which of his deeds enabled him to reach Heaven, and by so doing he instructs the living person on how to lead his life.⁴⁸ Although the favour bestowed on the figure is individual, it nevertheless has general implications for the field for which that figure was known. Thus we find accounts of dreams that deal

⁴³ Known by the name Ra'īs ar-Ru'asā'. For his biography see ad-Dahabī, *Siyar* XVIII, 216 and the bibliography there. For the name Muslima see Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmdl* VII, 253.

⁴⁴ For his biography see Ibn al-Ḥazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 572; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīḫ* XII, 98.

⁴⁵ al-Baghdādī, *Tārīḫ* XII, 98. See also note 92 below.

⁴⁶ The narrations are arranged chronologically according to the figure that appears in the dream. The approximate date of each dream is determined by the time of the dream narrator.

⁴⁷ Most biographical works adduce dreams in large numbers. See, for example (in chronological order): Muḥammad b. Sa'd (d. 230/845), *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*; 'Abū Muḥammad 'Abdarrahmān b. 'Abī Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (d. 327/938), *al-Ḥarḥ wa-t-ta'dīl*; 'Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1175), *Tārīḫ madīnat Dimašq* and its shortened version, made by Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311); 'Abdarrahmān b. 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥawzī (d. 597/1200), *Ṣifāt as-safwa*; 'Abdallāh b. As'ad al-Yāfī'ī (d. 768/1366), *Rawḍ al-rayyāḥīn*; 'Abdarrahmān al-Manāwī (d. 1022/1613), *al-Kawākib ad-durriyya*. So do biographical works which are limited to one figure, such as *Manāqib al-Imām 'Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* and *Ṣifāt 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'azīz*, both by Ibn al-Ḥawzī.

⁴⁸ For the manner in which the living benefit from the dead's experience see Kinberg 1986; Kinberg forthcoming, notes 26, 27 and the equivalent pages there.

with *fuqahā'* but which have implications also for the schools of law,⁴⁹ dreams about *zuhhād* that have implications for practical ethics,⁵⁰ dreams about *ḥadīṭ* transmitters which have implications for the authenticity of the *ḥadīṭ* literature,⁵¹ and dreams that treat Qur'ān readers and have implications for the development of the standardization of Qur'ān readings. This last kind of dreams may be found in general biographical works, in collections of Qur'ān readings and Qur'ān readers⁵² and in biographies of grammarians.⁵³ They all deal with individuals, but each one of them has also a more general intention and meaning. Thus a reward bestowed on a Qur'ān reader should be understood as an authorization of his reading. For this reason I will treat each of the following accounts as a reflection of the environment in which it was formulated, and examine it in the light of the development of the science of the Qur'ān readings (*ʿilm al-qirā'āt*).

Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb b. 'Umāra az-Zayyāt⁵⁴

Sulaym b. 'Isā (Ḥamza's student, d. 188/804)⁵⁵ saw his master (Ḥamza) crying. He asks him about it and Ḥamza tells that he saw the Day of Resurrection in his dream. He tells that in his dream he heard a voice declaring that only those who behaved according to the Qur'ān would be invited to the Lord. Then he is summoned to God. He enters a house where he hears a recital of the Qur'ān. He is ordered by an angel to ascend a *minbar* made of white pearls, the sides of which were made of yellow sapphire and its stairs of green chrysolite. Then he is asked to read *Sūrat al-'An'ām* and then *Sūrat al-'A'rāf*. When he reached the end of *Sūrat al-'A'rāf* the Lord asks him as to the reading he was following. Ḥamza says that he followed Sulaymān,⁵⁶ who followed Yahyā,⁵⁷ who followed 'Abū 'Abdarrahmān as-Sulamī,⁵⁸ who learnt it from 'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib. The Lord approves each one of the readers

⁴⁹ For further information see Kinberg 1985.

⁵⁰ For further information see Kinberg 1986.

⁵¹ Special attention will be given to this topic in a future article.

⁵² Collections of Qur'ān readings treat mainly the differences in readings and concentrate on phonological, morphological and syntactical phenomena. However, there are collections which dedicate a special part to the Qur'ān readers themselves; these collections do adduce dreams. The richest sources for dreams of Qur'ān readers are Ibn Ḡalbūn (d. 399/1008), *Ṭaḍkira*; ad-Ḍahabī (d. 748/1374), *Ma'rifa*; Ibn al-Ġazārī (d. 833/1429), *Naṣr* and *Ṭabaqāt*.

⁵³ See, for example (in chronological order): az-Zuhayrī (d. 379/989), *Ṭabaqāt*; Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181), *Nuḍḥa*; as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *Buḡya*.

⁵⁴ One of the seven authorized Qur'ān readers (d. 156/773). For his biography see Ibn al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 261; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* VII, 90 and the bibliography there.

⁵⁵ For his biography see al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 318; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* IX, 375 and the bibliography there.

⁵⁶ Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-'A'maš (d. 148/765). For his biography see al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 315; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* VI, 226 and the bibliography there.

⁵⁷ Yahyā b. Wattāb al-'Asadī (d. 103/722). For his biography see al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 380; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* IV, 379 and the bibliography there.

⁵⁸ 'Abdallāh b. Iḥabīb b. Rab'ā (d. c. 73-75/693-695). For his biography see al-Ġazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 413; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* IV, 267 and the bibliography there.

and then asks from whom 'Alī learnt his reading. Ḥamza answers: "from Muḥammad"; "And who taught my Prophet Muḥammad?" asks the Lord, and Ḥamza answers: "The angel Gabriel". "And who taught Gabriel?" Ḥamza refuses to answer. The Lord then tells him to say: "You". Ḥamza repeats it and the Lord praises the people of the Qur'ān, among whom Ḥamza is one.⁵⁹ This is a detailed narration, much longer than the average. We find here an approval of a chain of Qur'ān readers going from Ḥamza to the Lord Himself,⁶⁰ as well as a Divine encouragement to those who deal with the Qur'ān, of whom Ḥamza is one.

In the next dream narration, legitimation to Ḥamza's reading is granted by the Prophet. Its first part treats the trustworthiness of Ḥamza as a *ḥadīth* transmitter and its second part examines Ḥamza as a Qur'ān reader. In the second part Ḥamza reads the Qur'ān to the Prophet from beginning to end. The Prophet's reaction to Ḥamza's reading is: "[your reading is] as the one revealed to me".⁶¹

In the last two narrations the sound basis of Ḥamza's reading, its value and accuracy are approved by supreme authorities: in the first one by God, and in the second one by the Prophet. A general praise that does not treat the issue of *qirā'āt* is bestowed on Ḥamza in the second part of a narration which tells about al-Kisā'ī. The latter appears in a dream telling about himself being saved. When asked about Ḥamza he answers that he is in the uppermost heaven and that it is possible to see him only as one sees a glittering star.⁶² This last narration follows a common pattern: support given through a comparison of two or more celebrities.⁶³ Two famous and favourite Qur'ān readers are being compared, and of the two Ḥamza is being preferred. Thus the last narration, in spite of its being so different from the previous two, has also implications for Ḥamza's authority as a Qur'ān reader.

'Abū 'Amr b. 'Alā⁶⁴

Sufyān b. 'Uyayna (d. 198/814)⁶⁵ sees the Prophet in his dream and tells him that he is confused as to which reading of the Qur'ān to follow. The Prophet answers decisively: the reading of 'Abū 'Amr b. 'Alā'.⁶⁶

The high esteem of 'Abū 'Amr b. 'Alā's reading is expressed also in another dream, where 'Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/839) presents before the Pro-

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Ṣiḥā* III, 157-8. For a shorter version see Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Sahwa* 68. Cf. as-Sihāwī, *Ġamāl* II, 474, following another dream which is interpreted as a criticism of Ḥamza's strictness.

⁶⁰ This technique reminds us of the examination of the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* transmitters, which is sometimes done through the medium of dreams. See note 51 above.

⁶¹ Ibn Ḡalbūn, *Tadkira* I, 73-4.

⁶² al-Baghdādī, *Ta'riḥ* XI, 414-5, and see note 73 below.

⁶³ For other examples of comparisons see Kinberg 1985:68ff.

⁶⁴ One of the seven authorized Qur'ān readers (d. 157). For his biography see Ibn al-Ġazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 288; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* VI, 407 and the bibliography there.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Ġazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 308; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* VIII, 454 and the bibliography there.

⁶⁶ Ibn Muḡāhid, *Ṣab'a* 81; Ibn al-Ġazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 291; Ibn al-Ġazarī, *Naṣr* I, 134, as-Suyūṭī, *Buḡya* II, 232; Ibn Ḡalbūn, *Tadkira* I, 68; ad-Ḍahabī, *Ma'rifat* 85; Ibn Manzūr, *Muḥṭaṣar* XXIX, 82.

phet some of the readings of 'Abū 'Amr b. 'Alā'; the Prophet listens and makes only two changes while approving the rest.⁶⁷

Nāfi' b. 'Abdarrahmān b. 'Abī Nu'aym⁶⁸

A person who studied the Qur'ān with Nāfi' told that whenever Nāfi' was talking, a good fragrance spread from his mouth. Nāfi' denies wearing any perfume and rather tells that once in his dream the Prophet read into his mouth. A wonderful fragrance has been emanating from his mouth ever since.⁶⁹ In a similar narration Nāfi' is asked about the origin of his good qualities and the brightness of his face. He then tells that in a dream he read the Qur'ān to the Prophet and that the Prophet took him by his hand.⁷⁰

'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Kisā'i⁷¹

Ḥamīd ar-Ru'āsī (d. c. 190-192/806-808)⁷² sees al-Kisā'i in his dream and asks about his condition. When he hears that al-Kisā'i has reached Heaven he asks how and finds out that this was bestowed on him due to his study of the Qur'ān.⁷³

'Abū l-Mundir Nuṣayr b. Yūsuf, al-Kisā'i's student (d. 240/855),⁷⁴ comes to visit al-Kisā'i on his death bed. al-Kisā'i tells him that once he was reading the Qur'ān before people in the Mosque of Damascus. He closed his eyes and saw the Prophet entering the mosque. A man then approached the Prophet and asked: "whose reading should we follow?" The Prophet pointed to al-Kisā'i.⁷⁵

'Abū Ḡa'far Yazīd b. al-Qa'qā' al-Madanī⁷⁶

'Abū Ḡa'far is seen in a dream after his death in a most pleasant condition. He addresses the dreamer and asks him to spread the good news to his friends and to those who followed his Qur'ān reading: God will forgive them all.⁷⁷

⁶⁷ Ibn Muḡāhid, *Ṣab'a* 81-2; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb* XII, 180; Ibn Manẓūr, *Muḥṭaṣar* XXIX, 82. For a different version of the same dream see "Dreams dealing with Qur'ān readings" (Q. 2.106, 128) above.

⁶⁸ One of the seven authorized Qur'ān readers (d. 169/786). For his biography see Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 330; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* VII, 336 and the bibliography there.

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 332; Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Naṣr* I, 112; Ibn Ḡalībūn, *Tadkira* I, 51; ad-Ḍahabī, *Ma'rifa* 90; al-Qastalānī, *Latā'if* I, 93.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 332.

⁷¹ One of the seven authorized Qur'ān readers (d. 182/798). For his biography see Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 535; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* IX, 131 and the bibliography there. See also "Dreams dealing with Qur'ān readings" (Q. 37.1-3, 94).

⁷² For his biography see al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb* III, 44.

⁷³ Ibn 'Abī d-Dunyā, *Maḏmūn* #84. Cf. al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* XI, 414-5, where a question about Ḥamza's situation is added. (See note 62 above.)

⁷⁴ For his biography see Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 340.

⁷⁵ Ibn Ḡalībūn, *Tadkira* I, 79; ad-Ḍahabī, *Ma'rifa* 105.

⁷⁶ One of the ten authorized Qur'ān readers (d. c. 127-132/745-50). For his biography see Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 384; ad-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* V, 287 and the bibliography there.

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 384; Ibn al-Ḡazārī, *Naṣr* I, 178; al-Qastalānī, *Latā'if* I, 97.

In another dream 'Abū Ġa'far is seen next to the *Ka'ba*. He asks to send his regards to his friends and to tell them that God has put him among the *ṣuḥadā'*. He also asks to greet 'Abū Hāzim⁷⁸ and to inform him that the Lord and His angels visit his session (*maǧlis*) during the evenings.⁷⁹

Although each one of the dream narrations presents a different reward, their intention is one: to establish the authority of the Qur'an readers and to legitimate the usage of their readings. All the examples adduced hereby were most likely formulated and circulated at the beginning of the process of the canonization of the Qur'an readings. The dreams I presented so far reflect the two main stages of the process. There are dreams which preserve the competition and the arguments between the Qur'an readers and their followers; in others harmonization of readings is reflected. Furthermore we have dream narrations about two disputing Qur'an readers, Ibn Muǧāhid, the compiler of the seven readings and his contemporary Ibn Miqṣam, who refused to follow any particular authority preferring to decide for himself.⁸⁰ The comparison between the two different ways in which these images are presented conveys the tendency to canonization, particular to that time.

'Abū Bakr 'Aḥmad b. 'Abbās b. Muǧāhid⁸¹

On the night Ibn Muǧāhid dies, his neighbour has a dream. In his dream he hears a voice saying: "Tonight died the one who has been rectifying God's revelation [= Qur'an] (*muqawwim waḥyi-llāh*) for the last fifty years." On the next morning the neighbour hears that Ibn Muǧāhid has died the previous night.⁸²

It is most probable that the title *muqawwim waḥyi-llāh* does not refer to one specific reading, but rather to Ibn Muǧāhid's efforts toward the canonization of the seven readings. This fits the message delivered in another tradition, not in the form of a dream, where Ibn Muǧāhid is asked why he does not choose a reading of his own. He answers that preserving the '*imāms*' readings [most likely the seven] is better.⁸³ If this is the case, we may assume that the intention of the dream goes beyond the man himself. It approves of Ibn Muǧāhid's collection of the seven readings, and naturally authorizes all the seven Qur'an readers who are included in this work.

The next narration treats the way Ibn Muǧāhid himself reads the Qur'an. The latter tells that he saw the Lord in a dream. He reads the Qur'an to the Lord twice,

⁷⁸ This is, most likely, Salāma b. Dīnār al-'A'raǧ (d. c. 135-140/753-758). For his biography see *ad-Dahabī, Siyar* VI, 96 and the bibliography there.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Ġazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 384. For the first part only see *ad-Dahabī, Siyar* V, 288; *ad-Dahabī, Ma'rifa* I, 61.

⁸⁰ Paret 1960-: V, 127.

⁸¹ The compiler of *as-Sab'a fī l-qirā'at* (d. 324/936). For his biography see *ad-Dahabī, Siyar* XV, 272 and the bibliography there. See also the introduction to Ibn Muǧāhid, *Sab'a* 16-20.

⁸² al-Baǧdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* V, 147; Yāqūt, *Udaba'* V, 69.

⁸³ *ad-Dahabī, Siyar* XV, 273; *ad-Dahabī, Ma'rifa* 217.

and in his reading he has two mistakes. Ibn Muğāhid feels very sorry, but then he hears God's consolation: "Perfection is [exclusively] mine."⁸⁴

According to another account Ibn Muğāhid appears after his death in the dream of 'Aḥmad b. Kāmil al-Qāḍī,⁸⁵ reading the Qur'ān. When asked about reading the Qur'ān while dead, Ibn Muğāhid answers that while still alive, at the end of each prayer and also each time he finished to read the Qur'ān, he used to invoke God to enable him to read the Qur'ān in his grave. His invocation was answered.⁸⁶

The last two laudatory narrations add to the piety, truthfulness and reliability of Ibn Muğāhid and consequently further contributes to the authority of his work and of the seven readers. Needless to say that these narrations cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 4th/10th century. As opposed to these laudatory narrations we find one dream account in which the attitude is negative. The image which appears in this dream is no other than Ibn Muğāhid's opponent, 'Abū Bakr b. Miqṣam:

'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb b. Miqṣam al-'Aṭṭār⁸⁷

All the biographies of 'Abū Bakr b. Miqṣam mention that he was an expert in Qur'ān readings and a great grammarian of the Kūfan school. His only vice was the fact that he read the Qur'ān not according to the Islamic consensus (*wa-tu'ina 'alayhi bi-'an 'amada 'ilā ḥurūf tuḥālifu l-'igṡā'*).⁸⁸ 'Abū 'Aḥmad al-Faraḍī⁸⁹ sees himself in a dream praying among people, all facing the *qibla*, except 'Abū Bakr b. Miqṣam. The latter was standing with his back to the *qibla*. 'Abū 'Aḥmad al-Faraḍī connects it to Ibn Miqṣam's deviation from the *qirā'āt* of the *imāms*.⁹⁰

This dream cannot be earlier than the end of 4th/10th century (the narrator died in 406/1016). In a most tangible way it shows the fate of those who did not keep what should have been kept. Praying in the opposite direction conveys the Lord's rage, and is common in descriptions of the manner in which sinners and infidels lie in their graves.⁹¹ At the time of the deceased we witness the beginnings of the establishment of the canonical Qur'ān readings. The usage of unauthorized Qur'ān readings, therefore, called for a severe punishment as reflected in the last dream. Consensus (*'igṡā'*) of Qur'ān readings is also implied in the dream mentioned in the previous part of this study, about 'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaddā' (d.

⁸⁴ Yāqūti, 'Udabā' V, 71.

⁸⁵ See note 39 above.

⁸⁶ al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* V, 148; as-Suyūṭī, *Ṣiḍūr* 255; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Widdya* XI, 185.

⁸⁷ Died circa 353-354/964-965. For his biography see Ibn al-Ḥazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 123; al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* II, 208; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* XVI, 105 and the bibliography there.

⁸⁸ aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* XVI, 106.

⁸⁹ 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 'Abū 'Aḥmad al-Faraḍī al-Baḡdādī, a Qur'ān reader from Baghdad (d. 406/1016). For his biography see as-Sam'ānī, *Ansab* IV, 366; Ibn al-Ḥazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 491; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* XVII, 212 and the bibliography there.

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Ḥazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 125; as-Suyūṭī, *Buḡya* I, 89; al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'rīḥ* II, 208; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Siyar* XVI, 106.

⁹¹ Ibn 'Abī d-Dunyā, *Qubūr* #62, 63; Kinberg 1986:294 note 42.

415/1024) who declares that all the *qirā'āt* are one,⁹² and by so doing expresses a desire to smooth the differences between the readings. In contrasting the laudatory dreams about Ibn Muğāhid with the condemnatory one about Ibn Miqsam we are actually presented with the relationships between those who supported consensus and those who rejected it. The examination of these dreams, thus, enables us to draw some conclusions as to the circumstances which prevailed at that time, and to draw a picture which is not different from the one drawn from non-dream material, as offered by Paret:

"In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Muğāhid, the influential *Imām* of the readers in Baghdad, publicly and with governmental support brought this process to its logical conclusion. He banned further use of the *qirā'āt* of Ibn Mas'ūd and other uncanonical readings ... In addition, Ibn Muğāhid declared the reading of the 'Uṭmānic consonantal text, standardised by tradition and consensus, to be obligatory, and compelled Ibn Miqsam, another fellow-reader, to renounce the claim which he had maintained until that moment that he could decide for himself on the punctuation and vocalization of the text ..."⁹³

4. Conclusion

Dreams are merely a small portion of a large group of traditions that treat Qur'an readings. But, whereas it is very often hard to date a tradition, dating dreams can be done by examining the time of the figure who transmits the dream.⁹⁴ Dreams therefore may offer sometimes more applicable information than *ḥadīth*, and consequently can be used more easily as historical documents. In the set of narrations adduced hereby, the earliest narration that deals with variants of readings is transmitted by Raqaba b. Maṣqala (d. 129/747), and the latest one by 'Aḥmad b. Kāmil (d. 350/961). The narration that conveys agreement of readings is about a century later. In the case of the Qur'an readers we also have early and late narratives. The earlier transmitter is Sulaymān b. 'Isā (d. 188/804), and the latest is 'Abū 'Aḥmad al-Faraḍī (d. 406/1016). The narration which preaches for standardization of readings is from the end of the 4th/10th century or the beginning of the 5th/11th.

We may assume, therefore, that around the beginning of the 5th/11th century arguments about Qur'an readings ceased to exist as a crucial issue. This is the reason why at that time we find dreams in favour of standardization of the *qirā'āt*. Moreover, from dreams of that time we also learn that those who did not follow the accepted line were threatened as to the fate awaiting them in the afterworld. This was the period of time in which the exclusive authority of the seven readings was created, and toward its end 'Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. Sa'īd ad-Dānī (d. 444/1053)⁹⁵ compiled his *Kitāb at-taysīr fī l-qirā'āt as-sab'*, following *Kitāb as-sab'a fī l-qirā'āt*, which was

⁹² See note 45 above.

⁹³ Paret 1960: V, 127.

⁹⁴ A dream can be somewhat later, but never earlier than the time of its immediate transmitter.

⁹⁵ For his biography see ad-Dahabī, *Siyar* XVIII, 77 and the bibliography there. For other *qirā'āt* collections compiled at the same time see References.

compiled one century earlier by 'Abū Bakr b. Muğāhid. Evidence from dreams, then, supports the view that the canonization of the readings was completed by the end of the 4th/10th, or at the latest, at the beginning of the 5th/11th century.

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'CLAUSE' AND 'SENTENCE' IN *MA'ĀNĪ L-QUR'ĀN* BY AL-FARRĀ': A STUDY OF THE TERM *KALĀM*

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Introduction

In his study in the history of sentence-concept, Talmon (1988) showed that Sībawayhi's use of *kalām* differs from that of later grammarians as described by Goldenberg (1988). The purpose of the present study is to examine some occurrences of *kalām* in the contexts of 'sentence' and 'clause' in the *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* by al-Farrā'. I will not examine here extraneous uses such as *kalām Tamīm* (*Ma'ānī* I, 480.7) *kalām ahl-Ḥiğāz* (*Ma'ānī* I, 480.6; III, 139.5; III, 246.2) — in which it seems synonymous with *ḥuḡa* —, nor *fī-l-kalām* 'in ordinary speech' (*Ma'ānī* I, 72.11; I, 223.5; I, 281.3) — which is often contrasted with the other two corpora of linguistic evidence, namely *fī š-šī'r* 'in poetry' (*Ma'ānī* I, 428.13) or *fī l-kitāb* 'in the holy scripture' (*Ma'ānī* II, 164.10). In the first part of this paper I will concentrate on the boundaries of *kalām*, then on some uses of this term with reference to embedded clauses.

The boundaries of *kalām*

al-Farrā' specifies the beginning of a new *kalām* by the verbs *ista'nafa*, *ibtada'a* and their derivatives. The end of *kalām* is expressed by *inqaṭa'a l-kalām* (*Ma'ānī* II, 316.2,4), *ḡāyat kalām* (*Ma'ānī* I, 328.8). What are the criteria which determine the beginning of a new *kalām*? In many cases the boundaries of *kalām* are set by the syntactic effect on *ʾr-rāb*. The most intrinsic feature of a new *kalām* is the occurrence of a nominative noun which does not have a syntactic function in the previous segment. Thus in no 1 (*Ma'ānī* I, 192-3), al-Farrā' refers to the nominative *šāmitun* by the verb *yasta'nifu* and synonymously by *ibtada'a l-kalāma ba'da n-nisfayni*. The alternative reading *šāmitan* in the accusative is presented as an adjunct of the preceding construction. The two possible readings of *šāmit* are explained by contrasting *ibtidā'* and *ittiṣāl*: *fa-fīhi r-raḡ' 'alā l-ibtidā' wa-n-naṣb 'alā l-ittiṣāl bi-mā qablahu*.

1. *'idā muttu kāna n-nāsu šāmitun **

wa-'āharu mutnīn bi-l-ladī kuntu 'af'alī

When I die, people will split into two parts: [one will be] rejoicing
and another will praise what I used to do¹

¹ This verse occurs also in Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 36) with the rhyme *'asna'ū* and *šinfāni* in the nominative instead of *nisfayni* in the accusative (an-Naḥḥās, *Šarḥ* #42, #160, adduces this verse with nominative *nisfāni*, and quotes 'Abū Zayd, *Nawādir* with *nisfayni*. In an-Naḥḥās, *ʾr-rāb* II, 208, #180, *šinfāni*). Hence Sībawayhi adduces it under the chapter of *al-ʾdmār fī laysa wa-kāna*. According to his analysis there, *ism kāna* is an elliptic pronoun, and *ḡabar kāna* is the clause *an-nāsu šinfāni*. Thus there is no accusative noun as *ḡabar kāna*, and *šāmitun* in the nominative is the only acceptable reading. This verse

The introduction of a new *kalām* is more likely after a complete sentence. Thus the occurrence of *ṣummun bukmun 'umyūn* in the nominative in no. 2 is explained: *li-'anna l-kalāma tamma wa-nqaḍat bihi 'āyatun tumma stu'nifat ṣummun bukmun 'umyūn fī 'āyatīn 'uḥrā* (Ma'ānī I, 16):

2. (17) [... wa-tarakahum fī zuḥumātīn lā yubṣirūna]

(18) *ṣummun bukmun 'umyūn*

[and (He) left them in darkness unseeing], deaf, dumb, blind (Q. 2.17-8).

Similarly with reference to no. 3 (Ma'ānī I, 453):

3. (111) *fa-stabṣirū bi-bay'ikumu llaḍf bay'a'tum bihi wa-dālika huwa l-fawzu l-'aẓīmū* (112) *t-tābi'ūna l-'ābidūna ...*

So rejoice in the bargain you have made with Him; that is the mighty triumph. Those who repent, those who serve ... [those who keep God's bounds — and give thou good tidings to the believers.] (Q. 9.111-2).

Verse 112 has a series of nominative participles which do not form a complete sentence. Nevertheless, al-Farrā' regards them as members of a new *kalām*, because they occur at the beginning of a new verse after the conclusion of the preceding *kalām*: *t-tābi'ūna l-'ābidūna: ustu'nifat bi-r-raḍf li-tamāmi l-'āya qablahā wa-nqitā'i l-kalām fa-ḥasuna l-isti'nāf*. According to this analysis, the nominative participles in verse 112 are part of a new, elliptic sentence, and have no syntactic function in the structure of verse 111. Similarly, the occurrence of an indicative *yaf'alu* with *fā'* in no. 4 after a prohibition is interpreted as an *isti'nāf* (rather than a *ḡawāb manṣūb* or *'atf maḡzūm*), because it is not effected by the prohibition. Semantically in this case there is no relationship of *muḡāzā* between the two clauses: *turtdu: lā tarkab 'ilayhi fa-innahu sa-yarkabu 'ilayka, fa-hādā muḡālīfun li-l-ma'nayayni li-'annahu sti'nāfun* (Ma'ānī I, 27):

4. *lā tarkab 'ilā fulānin fa-yarkabu 'ilayka.*

Don't go to so-and-so, for he will come to you.

An interesting case is al-Farrā' s analysis of constructions known in Arabic grammar as *istiḡāl*. al-Farrā' ascribes to a certain grammarian (*wa-qad qāla ba'du n-nahwiyyūn*) the following structure (Ma'ānī II, 255):

5. *zaydan ẓarabtuḥu.*

Zayd (accusative) — I beat him.

al-Farrā' inclines to reject this structure, unless it is preceded by another *kalām*. As an initial utterance, he is ready to accept it only if a repetition (*takrūr*) is meant. In that case, the original intention of the speaker (*nawayta*) is to inflict upon Zayd the accusative effect of the verb. Since the verb is extraposed after its accusative noun, the enclitic pronoun *-hu* is inserted as a repetition. This structure is similar to no. 6:

6. *bi-zaydin marartu bihi.*

I passed by Zayd.

occurs also in *al-ḡumal fī n-nahw* attributed to al-Ḥallī b. 'Aḥmad, p. 119, as an example for nominative subject and predicate after *kāna* (*wa-qad yarfa'ūna bi-kāna l-isma wa-l-ḡabara*). The syntactical relation between the two nominative nouns is that of *ibtidā'* and its *ḡabar*, and *kāna* has no effect on them *wa-lam yu'ba' bi-kāna*. In the parallel passage of *al-Muḥallā* attributed to Ibn Ṣuqayr (d. 317/929), p. 94, one reads: *kāna* does not effect an accusative [noun] (*wa-lam yunṣab bi-kāna*). Two MSS read *'af'alā* as a rhyme, and *nisfāni* instead of *ṣinfāni*. This verse is also adduced by al-Baḡdādī (*Ilzāma* IX, 72-3). al-Baḡdādī ascribes to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 231/845) the recital of this verse with *ṣinfāni* in the accusative.

Except for *takrūr*, al-Farrā' is reluctant to accept no. 5 as one syntactical structure ('*alā kalimatin*'), because this entails the acceptance of no. 7:

7. *zaydan marartu bihi*.

Zayd (accusative) — I passed by him.

No. 7 is totally unacceptable for him (*wa-laysa dālika bi-ṣay'in*), because it is not preceded by any element that can be adjacent to the verb (*li-'annahu laysa qablahu ṣay'un yakūnu li-l-fī'l*). As can be learned from another passage,² al-Farrā' is probably referring here to the absence of a coordinator such as *wa-*, which can be prefixed to a verb. Where such a coordinator does occur, one can assume an underlying structure with the verb in initial position, and the accusative noun as its object.³ It is interesting to note that examples no 5, 6 are adduced by Sibawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 42 *Bāb mā yakūnu fīhi l-ismu mabniyyan 'alā l-fī'l quddima 'aw 'uhhira wa-mā yakūnu fīhi l-fī'lu mabniyyan 'alā l-ism*). In contrast with al-Farrā', both structures are acceptable for Sibawayhi with an underlying structure of two clauses (*ḍarabtu zaydan ḍarabtuhu* and *ḡa'altu zaydan 'alā tartqf marartu bihi* respectively). This is probably the background for the 12th point of controversy in Ibn al-'Anbārī's *'Inṣāf* (pp. 82-3 *al-qawl fī nāṣib al-ism al-maṣḡūl 'anhu*). Ibn al-'Anbārī summarizes the Basran view by assuming an underlying verb which causes the accusative of the noun, whereas the Kufan view holds that the accusative noun is affected by the same verb which affects the accusative pronoun in this structure. It is interesting to note that Ibn al-'Anbārī disregards the crucial distinction of al-Farrā' between the occurrence of this structure in initial position and its occurrence after a preceding *kalām* with which it is related. Moreover, in refuting the Kufan view, Ibn al-'Anbārī distorts al-Farrā''s explicit words. As we have seen, al-Farrā' is ready to accept construction no. 5 even in initial position, as a repetition (*takrūr*). al-Farrā' specifies the *takrūr* in the following way: *ka-'annahu nawā 'an yūq'a d-ḍarba 'alā zayd qabla 'an yaqa'a 'alā l-hā. fa-lammā ta'ahhara l-fī'l 'adhala l-hā 'alā t-takrūr*. In other words, al-Farrā' regards the enclitic pronoun as *takrūr*, and it is the initial overt noun, Zayd, which is first affected by the following verb. In contrast with this explicit view, Ibn al-'Anbārī ascribes to the Kufans the opinion that the enclitic pronoun is the first to be affected by the verb, whereas the initial overt noun is in apposition (*badal*) to that pronoun. He finally refutes this analysis because an apposition cannot precede its antecedent. As is obvious from this passage in the *Ma'ānī*, the opinion ascribed to the Kufans is not in accordance with al-Farrā''s explicit view.⁴

² I, 240-1. In 241.1 one should read *ṭf* instead of *ṭf*.

³ Sibawayhi analyzes these structures in a similar way under the chapter *ma yuḥḍru fīhi 'i'mālu l-fī'l mim mā yakūnu fī l-mubtada' mabniyyan 'alayhi l-fī'lu* (*Kitāb* I, 46-7). In this chapter, all the examples exhibiting this structure (namely *istigāl*) occur in a clause coordinated to a clause with an accusative noun (direct object of transitive verbs, or predicate of structures known as *kāna wa-'aḥwāṭuḥ*). Sibawayhi prefers harmony between the two adjacent constructions (*wa-hāḍa 'awḍ 'an yuḥmala 'alayhi mā qaraba ḡiwaruḥu minhu*), as long as it does not corrupt the meaning (*Kitāb* I, 46.1-8).

⁴ For a comparison between Sibawayhi and al-Farrā' in their analysis of these structures see Owens (1990:174-7), where additional passages from al-Farrā' are quoted. My conclusion here differs from Owens'. The latter does not find anything in al-Farrā' to contradict the interpretation reported in the subsequent literature of al-'Anbārī (and al-'Astarābādī). Owens also quotes Baalbaki (1981:16) to the effect that al-Farrā' and Sibawayhi differ slightly on the conditions where some of these structures can

Sometimes al-Farrā' resorts to an analysis of two units of *kalām* ('*alā kalāmayni*) in order to explain constructions which seem to violate his syntactic rules. Thus in his discussion of constructions known as *istiṭnā'*, he states that the verb and its complement must precede *'illā*. Hence he analyzes the Koranic verse in no. 8 as two units of *kalām* (*Ma'ānī* II, 100-1):

8. (43) *wa-mā 'arsalnā min qablika 'illā riḡālan [nūḥī 'ilayhim fa-s'alū 'ahla d-dikri 'in kuntum lā ta'lamūna]* (44) *bi-l-bayyināti wa-z-zuburi [wa-'anzalnā 'ilayka d-dikra ...]*

We sent not any before thee, except men [to whom We revealed: 'Question the people of the Remembrance, if it should be that you do not know'] — with the clear signs, and the Psalms; [and We have sent down to thee the Remembrance] (Q. 16.43-4).

The prepositional phrase *bi-l-bayyināti wa-z-zuburi* in verse 44 does not function as the complement of the verb *'arsalnā* in verse 43, but rather as a member of a new *kalām* which reiterates the verb in its underlying structure. The motivation for this analysis is not the intervening clauses in square brackets, but rather the syntactic rule which determines the position of the complement before *'illā*. Thus the same analysis is offered for nos. 9 and 10, where there are no intervening clauses between *'illā* and the complement of the verb:

9. *mā ḡaraba 'illā 'ahūka zaydan*

10. *mā marra 'illā 'ahūka bi-zaydin*

The underlying structure of no. 10 is no. 11:

11. *mā marra 'illā 'ahūka. marra bi-zaydin.*

al-Farrā' is explicit in his analysis here: *fa-'innahu 'alā kalāmayni turīdu: mā marra 'illā 'ahūka. tumma taqūlu: marra bi-zaydin.*

The conclusion that *kalām* does not necessarily refer to an independent utterance is evident from al-Farrā' s discussion of the interrogative *'am*. This particle may initiate a new *kalām*, yet this *kalām* must be associated with a preceding *kalām*: *'illā 'annahu btidā'un muttaṣilun bi-kalām*. The interrogative particle of a new *kalām* which is not preceded by another *kalām* must be either *'a-* or *hal* (*fa-law ibtada'ta kalāman laysa qablahu kalāmum tumma staṣhamta lam yakun 'illā bi-l-'alif 'aw bi-hal*), (*Ma'ānī* I, 71). Thus al-Farrā' explains no. 12 (*Ma'ānī* I, 132):

12. *'am ḡasibum* (Q. 2.214)

where the interrogative *'am* initiates a clause which is not preceded by the interrogative *'a-*: *istaṣhamta bi-'am fī btidā'in laysa qablahu 'alif fa-yakūna 'am raddan 'alayhi*. This structure is acceptable because *'am* is associated with a preceding *kalām*: *kāna qablahu kalāmum yattaṣilu bihi*, as is the case in no. 13 (*Ma'ānī* I, 132):

be used. As we have seen, this is not the case with regard to nos. 5 and 7 above, which are accepted by Sibawayhi, and rejected by al-Farrā'. My conclusion that al-'Anbārī is not always accurate in reporting the views of early grammarians is in agreement with Baalbaki 1981:10. Severe criticism of al-'Anbārī's credibility was raised by al-Ijlwānī: 622-5 (quoted by 'Alūṣ 1981:290-1).

13. 'anta raḡulun lā tunṣifu 'am laka sulṭānun tudillu bihi

You are a man that treats (others) with discrimination, or rather you have authority on which you pride yourself.

In analyzing the following verse with *nī'ma*, al-Farrā' allows different syntactical relations (*Ma'ānī* II, 99):

14. (30) *wa-la-nī'ma dāru l-muttaqīna* (31) *ḡannātu 'adnin yadhulūnahā*

Excellent is the abode of the godfearing — Gardens of Eden they shall enter (Q. 16.30-1).

1. *ḡannātu* occurs in the nominative because it is the *ism* of *nī'ma*. In other words verse 30 functions as a predicate (clause), and 31 as its subject (i.e. *mubtada' mu'ahhar*).

2. Verse 30 may function as a complete sentence (*muktafin bi-mā qablahu*). In that case verse 31 initiates a new *kalām*, and the reason for the nominative of *ḡannātu* is *isti'nāf*.

3. One may also see nexal relationship between the nominative of *ḡannātu 'adnin* and the phrase which contains its anaphoric pronoun *yadhulūnahā* (which functions as its *ḥabar*): *wa-'in šī'ta raḡa'tahā bi-mā 'āda min dikrihā fī yadhulūnahā*. The difference between the last two ways of analysis is that in no. 2 *ḡannātu 'adnin* initiates an elliptic clause, whereas in no. 3 no ellipsis is assumed.

A similar use of *isti'nāf* with reference to a new elliptic construction is evident in the analysis of no. 15 (*Ma'ānī* III, 121):

15. (1) *'idā waqa'ati l-wāq'atu* (2) *laysa li-waq'atihā kādibātun* (3) *ḥāḡīdatun rāḡ'ātun*.

When the Terror descends (and none denies its descending) abasing, exalting (Q. 56.1-3).

al-Farrā' analyzes verse 3 as an *isti'nāf*, in which the subject is missing. He supplies the underlying structure:

16. *al-wāq'atu yawma 'idin ḥāḡīdatun li-qawmin 'ilā n-nāri wa-rāḡ'ātun li-qawmin 'ilā l-ḡannati*.

He also allows a hypothetical reading of verse 3 in the accusative if the underlying structure of the *isti'nāf* is:

17. *'idā waqa'at ḥāḡīdatun li-qawmin*.

As we have seen, in most of the examples the boundaries of *kalām* distinguish between segments which are autonomous in their inner syntactical relations. It is interesting to note that al-Farrā' marks the boundary of *kalām* also before an adverbial of cause (*Ma'ānī* I, 73):

18. *wadda kaṭṭun min 'ahli l-kitābi law yaruddūnakum min ba'di 'ūmānikum kuffāran ḥasadan min 'indi 'anfusihi*.

Many of the People of the Book wish they might restore you as unbelievers, after you have believed, in the jealousy of their souls (Q. 2.109).

al-Farrā' sets the end of *kalām* after *kuffāran* (*ḥāhunā nqaṭ'a l-kalām tumma qāla ḥasadan ka-l-muḡassir, lam yunṣab 'alā 'annahu na'tun li-l-kuffār*). This could be interpreted in three ways:

1. *kuffāran* marks a possible end of a complete sentence both in the syntactic and communicative sense, which in other cases is specified as *kalām muktafin* or *kalām*

tāmm, *yağūzu/yaşluhu s-sukūtu 'alayhi* (*Ma'ānī* I, 389). The adverbial of cause, according to this interpretation, is dispensable (*faḍl fī l-kalām*, *Ma'ānī* II, 84).⁵

2. *kuffāran* marks the end of the sentence, and the adverbial of cause represents an elliptic clause which functions as *tafsīr* for the previous one.

3. In his words *inqaṭa'a l-kalām* al-Farrā' refers to the boundary of a phrase, rather than a clause or sentence. The adverbial of cause initiates a new phrase, in contrast with *na't*, which is an adjunct of its antecedent. It is interesting to note that al-Farrā' often refers to *ḥāl* constructions as: *manṣūb 'alā l-qaṭ'*, namely a modifier which is not a member of the preceding phrase. Hence, in contrast with *na't*, it does not follow the case of its antecedent, nor does it agree with its antecedent in definition. Thus the concept of *qaṭ'* covers both adverbials of circumstance and cause. It is the combination *inqaṭa'a l-kalām* here that is significant for our study, because if no. 3 is the right interpretation of al-Farrā's words, it indicates that the boundaries of *kalām* are not necessarily between two clauses, and *kalām* may refer to smaller segments or phrases.

Embedded clauses

Since *kalām* generally refers to units which are autonomous in their inner syntactical relations, it is understandable why al-Farrā' uses *kalām* also with reference to structures that are embedded clauses.⁶ With regard to no. 19 (*Ma'ānī* I, 271), he proposes two analyses: the one is in continuity with the preceding sentence, and the other as an interrupted new sentence (*munqaṭi'a minḥa musta'nafa*):

19. [*'a-lam tara 'ilā l-ladūna 'ūtū naṣībān minā l-kitābi*] *minā l-ladūna ḥādū yuḥarriṣūna l-kalima*

[Hast thou not regarded those who were given a share of the Book] some of the Jews pervert words (Q. 4.46).

According to the second analysis, the underlying structure is no. 20:

20. *minā l-ladūna ḥādū man yuḥarriṣūna l-kalima*

al-Farrā' explains the deletion of *man* in this structure: *wa-dālika min kalāmi l-'arab 'an yuḍmirū man fī mubtada'i l-kalām fa-yaqūlūna: minnā yaqūlu dālika wa-minnā lā yaqūluhu*. Hence in no. 21, the subject clause *yaqūlu dālika* is a beginning of a new *kalām*, where an underlying *man* may be deleted:

21. *minnā yaqūlu dālika wa-minnā lā yaqūluhu*.

In his discussion of no. 22 (*Ma'ānī* I, 326-7), al-Farrā' talks about the annexation of temporal nouns to a *kalām* with no overt noun in the genitive: *wa-mā uḍṭifa 'ilā kalāmin laysa fīhi mahfūḍun*:

22. *ḥādā yawmu yanfa'u ṣ-ṣādiqūna ṣidquhum*

This is the day the truthful shall be profited by their truthfulness (Q. 5.119).

The fact that al-Farrā' specifies that in these structures the *kalām* has no overt genitive noun implies that *kalām* is not yet a clear technical term. It is interesting to

⁵ For a similar interpretation (with reference to Sībawayhi) of a 'potential *kalām*' as against an 'actual' one, including all the *zawḍ'id*, see Beeston 1976:650, col. 2.

⁶ For *ḡumla*, *kalām muḡmal*, *kalima muḡmala*, *fī l-muḡmal* in this context see Talmon 1988.

note that in another discussion of these structures (*Ma'ānī* III, 226),⁷ al-Farrā' uses different terminology with reference to clauses which occur as the second element of annexation: *fa'ala/yaf'ahu*, *fīl muḡmal* for verbal complex; *kalima muḡnala/kalām muḡmal* for nominal clauses, and sometimes he refers to a nominal clause by a periphrasis: *al-ism al-muḡbar 'anhu* — a predicated noun.

Conclusion

From al-Farrā' 's analyses of the constructions adduced in this paper one can draw the following outlines:

1. al-Farrā' is well aware of the concepts of clause and sentence as syntactical and communicative units, and makes intensive use of these concepts in his analyses.

2. Although al-Farrā' often uses the concepts of sentence and clause, he does not use clear technical terminology for these concepts. The word *kalām* often occurs in these discussions both for independent sentences and for embedded clauses. Yet, it is the context and the different collocations of *kalām* that determine its specific meaning. It seems that the crucial criterion which determines the boundaries of *kalām* is related to the theory of 'amal. According to this criterion, a *kalām* is autonomous insofar as none of its members is affected by an outside unit.

3. In this respect al-Farrā' is closer to Sībawayhi (Talmon 1988) than to later grammarians who use *kalām* as an independent sentence, but never as an embedded clause (Goldenberg 1988:53 ff.).

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⁷ This passage is adduced in Talmon 1988, in the discussion of *ḡumla*, *muḡmal*.

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THE CATEGORY OF 'ASMĀ' AL-FĪ'L IN ARABIC GRAMMAR

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1. Introduction

In Arabic grammatical terminology the term '*asmā' al-fī'l*' refers to certain interjections denoting a sense of a verb, such as *nazālī* - "Go down!", *halumma* - "Come here!" and *'ilayka* - "Go away!" (see below 2).

Most of the interjections belonging to the category of '*asmā' al-fī'l*' denote an imperative. However, some of them denote the sense of a verb in the past tense (see below 2).

The term '*asmā' al-fī'l*' occurs for the first time in the *Kitāb*.¹ The singular form, *ism al-fī'l* or *ism fī'l*, occurs only in later sources.² The interjections known by this term are also called '*asmā' li-l-fī'l*' (sing. *ism li-l-fī'l*)³ and '*asmā' al-'aḥd*' (sing. *ism al-fī'l*).⁴

The term '*asmā' al-fī'l*' calls for some elucidation, and in this paper I will therefore attempt to show what the grammarians held '*asmā' al-fī'l*' to mean (see below 3). I will also deal with the Arab grammarians' views on the classification of '*asmā' al-fī'l*' (see below 2), and on the grammatical task and characteristics of the words belonging to this category (see below 4).

For the Arab grammarians' discussions of '*asmā' al-fī'l*' see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.6 - 107.10; Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.7 - 38.15; al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 202 - 211; Ibn as-Sarrāḡ, '*Uṣūl* I, 167.5 - 174.8; az-Zaḡḡāḡī, *Ġumal* 228.1-7; 244;⁵ aṣ-

¹ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.21. This term occurs also in al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 206.7; az-Zamaḡḡarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 65.20.

² For *ism al-fī'l* see Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.24 - 514.1 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 49.11; for *ism fī'l* see al-Gurḡānī, *Muqtaṣid* I, 571.7; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.15 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 49.2; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.17 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 49.4.

³ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.8; 105.3; az-Zamaḡḡarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 65.20; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 504.19 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 39.17; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 507.22-23 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 42.25; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 508.3 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 43.1; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.4-5 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 48.3; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 514.11 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 50.2.

⁴ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.9; 34.11; Ibn as-Sarrāḡ, '*Uṣūl* II, 91.2; al-Gurḡānī, *Muqtaṣid* I, 573.19; 575.2; az-Zamaḡḡarī 61.21.

⁵ See Ibn al-Ḥaṣṣāb, *Murtāḡil* 248.2; Ibn 'Abī ar-Raḥīf, *Basīṭ* 167.15; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 494.17 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 25.12; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 503.12-13 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 38.10; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 506.19 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 41.21; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 510.22 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 45.8; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.3 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 48.2; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 534.1 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 75.8-9.

⁶ See Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 535.21 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 77.9.

⁷ The term '*asmā' al-fī'l*' does not occur in this text.

Şaymarī, *Tabṣira* 246 - 253; al-Ğurğānī, *Muqtaṣid* I, 569-577; al-Ğurğānī, *Talḥiṣ* 195.3 - 204; Ibn Ḥaššāb 248-259; Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Asrār* 67.1 - 68.18; Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Inṣāf* 99.15 - 102.5; az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 61.7 - 67.2; Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 494.9 - 534.6 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 25.6 - 75.13; Ibn 'Abī r-Rabī', *Basīṭ* 163.2 - 164.14; Ibn 'Abī r-Rabī', *Ḍabī* 347 - 353; Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* 302 - 307.

2. The classification of 'asmā' al-fīl

In the grammarians' classification, 'asmā' al-fīl are divided, according to their grammatical function, into two main groups:

- (1) 'asmā' al-fīl which occur as imperatives; and
- (2) 'asmā' al-fīl which take the place of an affirmative declarative sentence (= *ḥabar*).⁸

(1) 'asmā' al-fīl as imperatives are divided according to derivational criteria into three groups:

- (a) 'asmā' al-fīl on the *fa'ālī* pattern, derived from trilateral roots. For example: *nazālī* - "Get down!"⁹ (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.20); *ḥaḍārī* - "Beware; Be cautious!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.17); *naẓārī* - "Look!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.19).¹⁰

The sense of a given *ism fīl* on the *fa'ālī* pattern is the same as that of an imperative of the 1st Verb Form derived from the same root. Thus, *nazālī* has the same connotation as *inzil*, and *ḥaḍārī* has that of *iḥḍar*.

Unlike imperatives of the 1st Form, 'asmā' al-fīl on the *fa'ālī* pattern are indeclinable. Thus, for example, *nazālī* stands for all the declined forms of *inzil* such as *inzilī*, *inzilū* etc. (see below 4).

- (b) 'asmā' al-fīl which are formed by a combination of a preposition + a genitive pronoun of the 2nd person,¹¹ such as 'ilayka - "Go away!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 105.23 - 106.1); 'alayka *zaydan*, *dūnaka zaydan* or 'indaka *zaydan* - "Seize Zayd!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 105.17). The genitive pronoun included in combinations acting as 'asmā' al-fīl is declinable in number and gender (see below 4).

This category of 'asmā' al-fīl is called by some grammarians *al-igṛā'* - lit. "the incitement".¹² The sense of *al-igṛā'* as a grammatical term is "the words denoting an incitement to do a certain act."

- (c) 'asmā' al-fīl which are isolated forms, such as *ḥayya* - "Come!" (az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 63.1); *ḥayyahala* - "Come quickly!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.10);

⁸ For *ḥabar* in this sense see, for example, Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 49.6; 250.12-13; 252.15-17.

⁹ The term *nazālī* was used as a war cry in the sense of "Get down off your horse and start fighting!" (see 'Abū Tammām, *Ḥamḍa* I, 23.3. Cf. Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 514.23 - 515.2 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 50.13-16.

¹⁰ For 'asmā' al-fīl on the *fa'ālī* pattern see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.11 - 35.8; aṣ-Şaymarī, *Tabṣira* 246.1-4; 251.6 - 252.10; az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 63.6-10; Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 514.10 - 516.14 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 50.1 - 52.17.

¹¹ The prepositions included in such combinations consist either of a *ḥarf garr*, like 'ilā, or of a *zarf* like 'alā and dūna. (For classification of prepositions see Levin 1987).

¹² See az-Zagḡāgī, *Ġumal* 144; Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Inṣāf* 99.15-16; Ibn al-'Anbārī, *Asrār* 67.2-5.

halumma - "Bring close!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 102.10); *ṣah* - "Shut up!" (al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 202.6); *'ithi* - "Tell more!" (az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 61.13). These isolated forms are called by some grammarians *'aṣwāt* (sing. *ṣawf*) - lit. "sounds".¹³

Some grammarians classify the word *hātī* - "Give!" as belonging to this category,¹⁴ although Sībawayhi and al-Mubarrad do not mention it among 'asmā' al-fīl.¹⁵ It seems that both of them held the view mentioned by al-Halīl that the form *hātī* is the imperative of the verb *hātā*, imperfect *yuhātī*. These forms were shifts of *'ālā*, imperfect *yu'ālī* - "he gave". However, by al-Halīl's time the forms belonging to the conjugation of *hātā*, except the imperative *hātī* were no longer used by the 'arab.¹⁶ It is clear that *hātī* cannot be classified as an *ism fīl* by grammarians who hold that it is an imperative of a certain verb, even if this verb was no longer current (for the criteria of classifying a certain form as an *ism fīl* see below 3).

(2) 'asmā' al-fīl which take the place of an affirmative declarative sentence.

According to the grammarians, only a few interjections belong to this category. For example: *hayhātu* - "Far from it!" (az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 61.18); *ṣattāna* - "How different is...!" (ibid.); *'uffin* - "an interjection expressing anger" (az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 61.20); *'awwah* - "an interjection expressing pain" (ibid.).¹⁷

3. The meaning of the term 'asmā' al-fīl

The sense of the term 'asmā' al-fīl, according to the Arab grammarians, is: "the proper names of the verbs". The term derives from their notion that certain verbs have a proper name. Sometimes, instead of using a given verb, the speaker uses its proper name. The proper name of the verb is a sign denoting the verb, just as the proper name of a given person is a sign denoting that person: for example, the form *ḥayyahala* is the proper name of the verb *'āli* - "Come!", as the name *ḥassānu* is the proper name of a given person. Hence, *ḥayyahala*, when used by the speaker, denotes the verb *'āli*, just as *ḥassānu* denotes a person known by this name. This interpretation of 'asmā' al-fīl can be illustrated by the following excerpts:

(1) Ibn 'Abī r-Rabī' (13th century) says: *wa-mina n-naḥwiyyīna man qāhaba 'ilā 'annahā 'asmā'un lā 'af'ālun fanazālī ismu inzīl wa-ṣattāna ismu ṣattata wa-hayhātu ismu ba'uda kamā 'anna ḥassānu ismun li-ṣaḥṣin...* - "And among the

¹³ See, for example, al-Ġurġānī, *Talḥīṣ* 195.5-6; 197.13; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 508.16 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 43.12; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 510.22-23 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 45.8-9.

¹⁴ See, for example, az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 61.10; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 497.16-18 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 30.5-7.

¹⁵ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, Chapters 47-49 (= I, 102.6 - 107.10); Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, Chapter 309 (= II, 34.7 - 38.15); al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 202.1 - 207.3.

¹⁶ See al-Halīl, *Ayn* IV, 80.14-18. Cf. Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 497.16-20 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 30.7-9. It should be noted that both Sībawayhi and al-Mubarrad render the *ism fīl* *halumma* by *hātī*, without saying that *hātī* itself is an *ism fīl* (see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.9-10; al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 202.10).

¹⁷ See Ibn al-Haṣṣāb, *Muntaḥil* 248.8-12; az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 61.18-20; Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 501.14 - 504.14 = Ibn Ya'qūb, *Ṣarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 35.8 - 39.14.

grammarians there are [those] who hold that they [i.e. 'asmā' al-fīl] are nouns, and not verbs, so [according to their view] *nazāli* is a proper name [of the verb] *inzil* (= "Get down!"), and *ṣattāna*¹⁸ is a proper name [of the verb] *ṣattata* (= "he scattered, separated") and *hayhātu*¹⁹ is a proper name [of the verb] *ba'uda* (= "it was far away"), just as *ḥassānu* is a proper name of a person..." (Ibn 'Abī r-Rabf, *Basī* 163.17 - 164.1).

(2) Ibn Ya'īṣ says: *wa-lammā kānat ḥādīhi l-'alfāzu 'asmā'an li-l-'afāli ka-l-'alāmi 'alayhā kāna fīhā kaṭ'īn min 'aḥkāmī l-'alāmi...* - "...since these words are names of the verbs [and they are] like proper names which were given to them [i.e. to the verbs], they share with the proper names many of their essential grammatical properties..." (Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 496.14-15 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 29.6-7).²⁰

(3) Ibn Ya'īṣ says: *īlam 'anna ma'nā qawli n-nahwīyīna 'asmā'u l-'afāli l-murādu bihi 'annah wuḍi'at li-tadulla 'alā ṣiyaḡi l-'afāli kamā tadullu l-'asmā'u 'alā musammayātihā fa-qawlunā ba'uda dāllun 'alā mā tahtahu min l-ma'nā wa-huwa ḥilāfu l-qurbi wa-qawluka hayhātu (i)smun li-lafzi ba'uda dāllun 'alayhi wa-kaḍālika sā'īnūhā* - "Know that that which is intended by the grammarians' term 'asmā' al-'afāl is that [the forms known by this term] were coined in order to denote [various] forms of verbs, just as the names denote [the persons] named by them. [For example], the utterance *ba'uda* [= "it was far away"] denotes a certain sense, which is the opposite of *al-qurb* (= "being near"), and your utterance *hayhātu* is a name of the form *ba'uda*, and it denotes it [i.e. it denotes *ba'uda*]. And the same holds good with respect to all the rest of ['asmā' al-fīl]"²¹ (Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 494.17-19 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 25.12-14).

(4) Ibn al-Ḥaššāb says: *wa-'alfāzu l-'afāli dawāllu 'alā l-ma'ānī llati wuḍi'at lahā wa-ḥādīhi dawāllu 'alā tilka l-'alfāzi fa-hiya 'asmā'un li-'alfāzihā 'a-lā tarā 'anna lafza ba'uda dāllun 'alā l-ma'nā llati tahtahu wa-huwa ḥilāfun li-l-qurbi wa-qawluka hayhātu (i)smun li-lafzi ba'uda 'ay dāllun 'alayhi* - "And the words which are verbs denote the sense which they [i.e. these words] were coined for, and these [i.e. 'asmā' al-fīl] signify these words [denoting the verbs], and they [i.e. 'asmā' al-fīl] are names of the words [which denote the verbs]. Don't you see that the form *ba'uda* denotes the sense which is found in it, and this sense is opposed [to the sense of the verb denoting the act of] being near. And the utterance *hayhātu* is the name of the word *ba'uda*, i.e., it signifies this word" (Ibn al-Ḥaššāb, *Murtaḡil* 248.8-11).

(5) The title of the chapter dealing with 'asmā' al-fīl in al-Mubarrad's *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍab* is: *ḥādā būbu mā ḡarā maḡrā l-fīli wa-laysa bi-fīlin wa-lā maṣḍarin wa-lākin nahā 'asmā'un wuḍi'at li-l-fīli tadullu 'alayhi* - "This is the chapter dealing with

¹⁸ The sense of *ṣattāna* is "what a difference!", as in the phrase *ṣattāna mā baynahumā* - "What a difference between... and...!".

¹⁹ The sense of *hayhātu* is "Far from it!".

²⁰ For the "grammatical essential properties" common to 'asmā' al-fīl and the proper names, see Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 496.14-16 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 29.6-8. See also Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 30.20 - 33.19 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) I, 27.2 - 33.14.

²¹ I.e., the rest of 'asmā' al-fīl are proper names of given verbal forms, just as *hayhātu* is the proper name of the verb *ba'uda*.

[these words] which occupy the same place as the verb does, and which are neither a verb nor a *maṣḍar*, but [are] names which were coined for the verbs [and] which denote them" (al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 202.1-4).

(6) For other excerpts interpreting the term 'asmā' al-fī'l in the same way see Ibn Haṣṣāb, *Murtaḡil* 248.1-4; Ibn 'Abī r-Rabī', *Daḥī* 347.2-8; 348.21; 348.12 - 349.1.

The following is the title of Chapter 47 in the *Kitāb* which is the first chapter in Sībawayhi dealing with 'asmā' al-fī'l: *hādā bābun minā l-fī'li summiya l-fī'lu fīhi bi-'asmā'in lam tu'haḍ min 'amṭilati l-fī'li l-hāditi wa-mawḍi'uhā minā l-kalāmi l-'amru wa-n-nahyu*.²² The interpretation of the term 'asmā' al-fī'l by the later grammarians enables us to render this title as follows: "This is a chapter dealing with verbs which were named by names which are not derived from the patterns [denoting] a verb which signifies an act. The place [occupied by these words] in speech is that of [a verb denoting] a command or a prohibition" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.6-7).

The interpretation of the term 'asmā' al-fī'l by the later grammarians shows that Wright's editor is mistaken when saying that 'asmā' al-'af'āl are so called because they have "a certain verbal force".²³ Lane is also mistaken when calling various forms of 'asmā' al-fī'l by the term "verbal noun"²⁴ or "imperative verbal noun".²⁵

The grammarians' notion that a given word is a proper name of another word is not restricted to words belonging to the category of 'asmā' al-fī'l. According to Sībawayhi, there are two other such categories of words, which he calls *ism li-l-waṣf* — "a proper name of an adjective"²⁶ and *ism li-l-maṣḍar* — "a proper name of a *maṣḍar*".²⁷ The words belonging to these two categories, like some of 'asmā' al-fī'l, occur on the *fa'ālī* pattern,²⁸ and they are regarded as feminine nouns.²⁹

The following examples belong to the category of *ism li-l-waṣf*: *ḥabāṭī* is the proper name of the adjective *ḥabīṭa* - "a bad woman".³⁰ Hence *yā ḥabāṭī* means "O bad woman!";³¹ *lakā'ī* is the proper name of the adjective *lak'ā* - "a vile woman".³² Hence, *yā lakā'ī* means "O vile woman!".³³

²² For the sense of *an-nahyu* here see as-Sirāfi, as quoted by Jahn 1895-1900: 1/2 177, note 3.

²³ Wright's editor says: "Many interjections have, by origin or use, a certain verbal force and are called therefore 'asmā' al-'af'āl..." (Wright 1896-98: I, 296.8-9).

²⁴ See Lane 1863-93: V, 2146A.53 - 2146B.1 (referring to 'alayka).

²⁵ See Lane 1863-93: I, 86A.25-28 (referring to 'ilayka); I, 305B.57-58 (referring to *tarāki*); II, 534C.5-7 (referring to *ḥadāri*).

²⁶ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.7-10. Sībawayhi also calls this category of words *ism li-sifa* (see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 34.11). Cf. Ibn as-Sarrāg, *Uṣūl* II, 90.15-17.

²⁷ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.7-10. The term *ism li-l-maṣḍar* appears in Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 36.1. For this term see also Ibn as-Sarrāg, *Uṣūl* II, 90.18 - 91.2; az-Zaḡḡāḡi, *Ḥumal* 229.2-3.

²⁸ See the examples in Chapter 309 (= Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.7 - 38.15).

²⁹ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.7-10; 37.21-22.

³⁰ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 35.8-9. For other examples of *ism li-l-waṣf* see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 35.9-16.

The following are examples of the *ism li-l-maṣḍar* category: *faḡārī* is the proper name of the *maṣḍar faḡra* which denotes the sense of "being immoral";³¹ *yasāri* is the proper name of the *maṣḍar al-maysara* in the sense of "being wealthy".³²

It should be noted that Ibn Yaʿīṣ mentions the view that the forms *al-kalām* and *as-salām* belong to the category of *ism li-l-maṣḍar*: *al-kalām* is the name of the *maṣḍar at-taklīm*, and *as-salām* is the name of the *maṣḍar at-taslīm*.³³ Similarly, al-ʿUkbarī mentions the view that *hiḡḡ* - "making the pilgrimage [to Mecca]" is an *ism li-l-maṣḍar*.³⁴ Note that Ibn Yaʿīṣ's and al-ʿUkbarī's examples do not occur on the *faʿālī* pattern.

Ibn Yaʿīṣ says that the form *ḍarāmi* is a proper name (= *ʿalam*) of the word *ḥarb* - "war".³⁵

Sībawayhi holds that all forms appearing on the *faʿālī* pattern, including *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* are "transformed from their primary form (= *maʿdūl ʿan ʾaṣlihi*)."³⁶ He means that a form such as *ḥaḍārī* - "Beware" is a transformation of the form *iḥḍar*; *ḥabātī* of the adjective *ḥabīṭa*, and *yasāri* of the *maṣḍar maysara*. (See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 34.7 - 36.17).

4. The grammatical characteristics of *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl*

The Arab grammarians, then, hold that *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* are proper names of verbs (see above 3). Hence, they classify *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* as nouns.^{37, 38}

The words belonging to the category of *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* denote the sense of a verb,³⁹ and the place occupied by them in speech is that of a verb.⁴⁰ *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* do not occur on any of the verbal patterns.⁴¹ Some grammarians emphasize that *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* are not *maṣḍar*.⁴²

³¹ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 36.1-4; Ibn as-Sarrāḡ, *ʿUṣūl* II, 90.18 - 91.1. Cf. az-Zaḡḡāḡī, *Ġumal* 229.2.

³² See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 36.1-7; Cf. az-Zaḡḡāḡī, *Ġumal* 229.1-2. For other examples of *ism li-l-maṣḍar* see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 36.8-19.

³³ See Ibn Yaʿīṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 23.18 - 24.2 = Ibn Yaʿīṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) I, 21.3-12.

³⁴ al-ʿUkbarī, *Tibyan* 281.7-8.

³⁵ For the interpretation of the literal sense of *ḍarāmi* by Ibn Yaʿīṣ, see Ibn Yaʿīṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 520.6-7 = Ibn Yaʿīṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 59.11-12.

³⁶ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 35.17-18. Sībawayhi also says that these forms are *maʿdūlan ʿan ḥaddihi* (= transformed from their regular form) (*Kitāb* II, 34.7). Cf. az-Zaḡḡāḡī, *Ġumal* 228-9; as-Šaymarī, *Tabṣira* I, 247.1-4; Ibn Yaʿīṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 514.10 = Ibn Yaʿīṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 50.1.

³⁷ For the exceptional view that *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* form a special part of speech called *al-ḥalifa* see the Appendix below.

³⁸ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.17-18; al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 202.1-4.

³⁹ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.6-7, 102.23-24.

⁴⁰ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.6-7.

⁴¹ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.6; 102.17-19.

⁴² See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.23-24; al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 202.1-3.

Every *ism fīl* denotes the sense of the verb named by it. E.g., *ḥayyahala*, which is the *ism* of the imperative 'ilī, means "Come!".⁴³

'Asmā' al-fīl of verbs which take an accusative as a direct object can also govern a direct object,⁴⁴ as in the following examples: *ḥayyahala t-tarīda* - "Come quickly to have soup!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.10); *ḥalūmma zaydan* - "Bring Zayd!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.9). Such 'asmā' al-fīl can take an accusative pronoun suffix as a direct object, as in *tarākihā* - "Leave them!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.13) and *manā'ihā* - "Defend them!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.15).

An *ism fīl* of an intransitive verb cannot govern a direct object,⁴⁵ as illustrated by the examples *ṣah* - "Shut up!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.17) and *mah* - "Stop!" (ibid.), which are the names of *uskut* and *ukfuf* respectively.

Some of 'asmā' al-fīl forming a combination of preposition + 2nd person genitive pronoun suffix (see above 2) can take a direct object, as in 'alayka zaydan, dūnaka zaydan, 'indaka zaydan - "Seize Zayd!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 105.17).⁴⁶

Some of these 'asmā' al-fīl can govern a preposition + genitive, as in the examples 'ilaykum 'annī - "Go away from me!" (Šālihānī 1938:20.15); 'alaykum bi-n-nāri - "Come to the fire!" (Kister 1960:22.11-12) and 'alaykumā bi-n-nāqati llatī ṣifatuḥā kaḏā - "Go, the two of you, to the she-camel whose description is such and such..." (Šālihānī 1938:22.14).

Most of 'asmā' al-fīl are indeclinable forms, which can denote any number or gender of the second person. E.g. *ḥayyahala t-tarīda* - "Come (pl.) to have soup!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.10); *ḥayya 'alā ṣ-ṣalāti* - "Come (pl.) to prayer!" (az-Zamaḥṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 63.1).

However, the 2nd person genitive pronoun suffix in 'asmā' al-fīl which combine a preposition with a genitive pronoun suffix, is declinable as regards gender and number, as in the examples 'ilayka - "Go away!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 105.23) and 'ilaykum 'annī - "Go away from me!" (see above).

The forms *ruwayda* and *balha* are classified either as an *ism fīl* or as another part of speech, depending on their syntactic structure.

(1) *ruwayda*:

The form *ruwayda* is classified as an *ism fīl* when taking a direct object, as in the example *ruwayda zaydan* "Treat Zayd gently!" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.9).⁴⁷ But the same form is classified as a *maṣdar* when occurring as the first part of the construction of 'idāfa, as in the example *ruwayda zaydin* (az-Zamaḥṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 62.4), which means the same as *ruwayda zaydan*.⁴⁸

⁴³ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.9-11.

⁴⁴ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.7-16; Ibn as-Sarrāḡ, 'Uṣūl I, 167.6-8.

⁴⁵ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.7-9; 102.16-17; Ibn as-Sarrāḡ, 'Uṣūl I, 167.6-8.

⁴⁶ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 105.15-17; Ibn as-Sarrāḡ, 'Uṣūl I, 168.4-5; 168.10.

⁴⁷ See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 102.9; al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 208.5; az-Zamaḥṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 61.20 - 62.1; Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 504.19 - 505.4 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 39.17 - 40.4.

⁴⁸ See az-Zamaḥṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 62.3-5; Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 506.6-7 = Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 41.11-15. For *ruwayda* as a *maṣdar* see also Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 104.9-10. It is inferred that al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* III, 209.2-3) also holds that *ruwayda* in this construction is a *maṣdar*.

The form *ruwaydan* is classified as a *ṣifa* (= adjective) in the example *sārī sayran ruwaydan* - lit. "They walked a slow walk", i.e. "they walked slowly" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 103.6).⁴⁹ al-Mubarrad and Ibn Yaʿīš hold that *ruwaydan* in this construction is a *maṣdar*, acting as a *ṣifa*.⁵⁰

According to the grammarians, the form *ruwaydan* functions as a *ḥāl* in the example *sārī ruwaydan* - "They walked slowly" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 103.6-7).⁵¹

Ibn Yaʿīš says that *ruwaydan* in *ruwaydan zaydan* - "Treat Zayd gently!" is a *maṣdar*.⁵² It is inferred that al-Mubarrad holds the same view.⁵³

(2) *balha* - "Leave alone!":

The form *balha* is classified as an *ism fīl* when it takes a direct object in the accusative as in the example *balha zaydan* - "Leave Zayd alone!"⁵⁴ The same form is classified as a *maṣdar* when occurring as the first part in the construction of '*idāfa*', as in the example *balha zaydin* (az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 63.3), which also means "Leave zayd alone!"⁵⁵

Ibn Yaʿīš says that an *ism fīl*, just like a verb cannot occur as the first part of a construction of '*idāfa*'.⁵⁶

APPENDIX

as-Suyūṭī quotes 'Abū Hayyān (13th century) who notes that 'Abū ʿĠaʿfar Ibn Šābir held that the words the grammarians call '*asmāʾ al-fīl*' belong to a special category known to him as *al-ḥālifa*. This category of *al-ḥālifa*, says Ibn Šābir, is a fourth part of speech.⁵⁷ This view, as far as I know, is exceptional, and it deviates from the traditional division of the words of the Arabic language into three parts of speech: *al-ism*, *al-fīl* and *al-ḥarf*.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ See Sībawayhi, *Kiṭāb* I, 103.6; az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 62.1-2; Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 505.23 - 506.1 = Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 41.4-6.

⁵⁰ al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 209.1; Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 505.23-24 = Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 41.4-5.

⁵¹ See Sībawayhi, *Kiṭāb* I, 103.6-7; az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 62.3; Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 506.2-3 = Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 41.7-8.

⁵² Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 506.5-6 = Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 41.10-11.

⁵³ See al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 209.2-3.

⁵⁴ Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.3-9 = Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 48.2-8. Cf. az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 63.2-3.

⁵⁵ See az-Zamahṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal* 63.2-4; Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.3-20 = Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 48.2 - 49.7.

⁵⁶ Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (ed. Jahn) I, 513.9-11 = Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* (Cairo ed.) IV, 48.8-10. It should be noted '*asmāʾ al-fīl*' such as *dīnaka* and '*alayka*' are no exceptions to Ibn Yaʿīš's rule, since in these examples the complete constructions of '*idāfa*' is regarded as an *ism fīl*, and not the words *dīna* and '*alā*' alone (See above 3).

⁵⁷ See as-Suyūṭī, *ʿAsbāḥ* III, 2.8-9.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Sībawayhi, *Kiṭāb* I, 1, chapter I (= I, 1.1-8).

The word *al-ḥālifa* is a feminine active participle of the verb *ḥalaḥa* - "he took the place of someone". Hence, literally, *al-ḥālifa* means "that which takes the place of ...". As a technical term, *al-ḥālifa* means "the words which take the place of verbs."

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NEGATIVE MARKERS IN THE SPANISH ARABIC DIALECT

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Among Semitic languages, negation presents a wide range of dissimilarities, not only on account of the diversity of markers and of their position in the sentence, but also of their treatment.

With regard to the use of different markers, in certain languages the particle varies according to the kind of sentence (nominal or verbal) it denies, while in other, more syncretic languages, like Aramaic, Syriac (Costaz 1964:195-7) or Talmudic Babilonic, one and the same particle, *lā*, *lo* and *la(w)* respectively, denies any constituent of the sentence and any type of sentence.¹

The languages also differ in the position of the negative marker, which usually precedes the predicate, although it may come after it, such as the particle *lā* in South Arabic dialects when denying a quality or a situation, or the expression *aydolam* in nominal sentences in Amharic. A negative marker can also be prefixed to the predicate; this is the case of the Ethiopic 'r, its commonest particle, which may be prefixed to a single word, a noun phrase, a verbal phrase or even to the head of the sentence (Dillmann 1974:380-1, 508-13).

Another dissimilarity is evident in the use of one or more negative markers; we can observe the use of one negative particle, one negative particle plus a secondary marker or two negative particles. I shall not go into the first case in detail since it is the usual and simplest way of denying. The use of a secondary marker suffixed to the verb in order to reinforce the preceding particle is habitual in many North Arabic dialects with *mā + V + š(i)*, in Tigrinya with *ay + V + n*, and in Amharic with *'al + V + m*. Furthermore, in modern Arabic dialects *mā + V + š(i)* is so common, that in the dialect of Oman, for example, the particle *mā* disappears and *-š(i)* becomes a full-fledged negative marker (*>huwa-š(i) sekrān <* "He is not drunk"). Reciprocal reinforcement occurs in Arabic, Hebrew (Joüon 1974:488-95), Ethiopic and Neosyriac.

I shall finish this short review of some of the features of negation in the Semitic languages by pointing out two interesting negative constructions: prohibition and non-existence. First, the different aspect of the verb used to express prohibition; while Arabic and Hebrew use the jussive after *lā* and *'al* respectively, Ethiopic expresses it with 'r plus the subjunctive and Akkadian with *lā* plus the present (Soden 1952:177-82). Second, the coincident use of certain idioms in order to express non-existence, like in Arabic *laysa* (Wright 1896-98: II, 302), in Hebrew *'en* and *'ayin*, in Mehri *leh*, in Soqotri *biš(i)*, in Ethiopic *'albo*, in Amharic *yallam* or in Assyrian *yānu*.

Although this brief survey is not intended to be a thorough investigation of negation in Classical Arabic and its dialects, I would like to highlight, with regard to the diversity of negative particles extant in Classical Arabic, and the subsequent study of the Spanish Arabic dialect, the process of simplification which has taken place. In these dialects, negation is limited to only two particles, *mā* and *lā*, and the secondary

¹ See Brockelmann: 1908-13, II, 111-5, 182-6, 664-5.

marker $\neg(i)$, and their use depends on the dialect. For instance, while in South Arabic dialects $lā$ is the commonest marker and, as I have mentioned before, is usually placed after the predicate, North Arabic dialects employ $mā$ and the use of $lā$ is limited to double negative sentences.

This simplification process also occurred in the Spanish Arabic dialect, although not so rapidly as in other dialects of the Western group. Negation was achieved by means of the aforementioned $lā$, $mā$ and $\neg(i)$, and a new range of negative markers such as la/is , $lā$, $lā$ and $lā$ (Corriente 1977).

Before dealing with the central theme of this paper, I should like to comment on certain remarks about the chronology of the texts and their geographical and stylistic differences.

The texts studied herein belong to different epochs, from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, they will, therefore, enable us to take a diachronical approach to the process that took place in the Andalusī dialect. The earliest work is Ibn Quzmān's poetry (Corriente 1980), dated in the eleventh century; followed by Ibn Hišām al-Laḥmī² with his *al-Muḥal 'ilā taqwūn al-lisān wa-ta'līm al-bayān*, and some Mozarabic documents from the twelfth century. Then az-Zaḡḡālī's proverb collection (Bencherifa 1971) and the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (Corriente 1989) and finally, Ibn 'Ašim's proverbs and the *Lexicon of Pedro de Alcalá* from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. I shall concentrate on Ibn 'Ašim's dialectal proverbs since their linguistic analysis is my current field of work.

It should be noted that when we refer to Spanish Arabic dialect or Andalusī dialect, we mean not only a single one, but a bundle of dialects resulting from the interaction of the Arabic dialects brought to Spain in the eighth century by the Arabs, and the interference by the Romance substratum. Therefore, the texts reflect the dialect of Granada, Córdoba or Valencia.

Apart from these characteristics, we should consider the variety of registers and styles. On the one hand we have strophic poetry, the *azḡāl* of Ibn Quzmān, the proverbs of az-Zaḡḡālī and Ibn 'Ašim and the *Lexicon* of Pedro de Alcalá (Corriente 1988), all of them very popular and written in low register. On the other hand, we have the *Lexicon* of the *Vocabulista* and the work of Ibn Hišām, written in a higher style due to their pedagogic nature.

When I began this work, I decided to study negative markers on the basis of their appearance in the texts rather than the type of sentence denied or the aspect of the verb. I shall therefore deal first with the particles $lā$, $mā$ and the classicizing lam .

/lā/

In view of its wide use in Old Arabic, $lā$ is less frequent in Spanish Arabic. It appears in Ibn Quzmān denying imperfectives 9/6/3 *wa-r-raḡīb lā yuḥāf wa-lā yabqā* 'The spy will not be feared and he will not stay'; perfectives 5/4/1 *lā wazār illā abān 'ubāda* 'Nobody discharged the ministry properly except Aban 'Ubāda'; nominal sentences 11/2/1 *sā'a dūn šurāyba lā šakāl wa-lā malāḥa* 'An hour without a drink, neither beauty nor fairness'; as an absolute negative marker 35/6/4 *lā karīm illā abū iṣḥāq* 'Only 'Abū Iṣḥāq is generous'; and also as a double negative

² Studied by Pérez Lázaro (1990).

and negation adverb "no". We must note the emphatic use of *walá* without concatenation 20/7/1 *küllt ma tasmd' wa-lá hárft min háqq* "Of all you are hearing not even one letter is true".

There is little of interest in *az-Zağğālī* and *Ibn Hišām*, save the common use of *lá* plus 'an in the proverbs of *az-Zağğālī* to convey optative and jussive nuances, e.g. 193: *allá tabqá ad-dunya bilá walád húrta* "May the world not be left without honest people".

Surprisingly, in *Ibn 'Āsim's* proverbs *lá* is the commonest particle, despite being considered rather rare in Spanish Arabic. It is used with perfectives having the same optative meaning of Classical Arabic 530: *man māt min šāb'a lá aqāmu allāh minha* "May God not resuscitate whoever died from overeating", and also in imperfectives 58: *idā K'ln mā'ak ġār latf adda'ī ila allāh an lá yizūl* "If you have a nice neighbour, pray to God he does not disappear", 350: *tāwb al-'āyra lá yudūm wa-la yidaffi* "Lent clothes do not last nor warm up". But the most widespread use of *lá* in *Ibn 'Āsim* is to express prohibition, 47: *idā rāyt ħimārak yamšī la tazīdu mānhaš* "If you see your donkey is walking do not spur it", or 57: *idā hābbak al-qamār lá tubāli ban-nuġūm* "If the moon loves you, do not care about the stars". It also denies nominal sentences and single words; it is the negation adverb, the absolute negation and the particle used in double negatives.

However, *lá* is not common in the *Lexicon* of *Pedro de Alcalá* of the sixteenth century, although its compound *bilá* was the standard adjectival negation: *bilé muéddeb* "uneducated", *bilé muádel* "decomposed", etc.

/má/

Unlike the rest of the dialects of the Western group, the use of *má* in the Spanish Arabic is not so frequent. In *Ibn Quzmān*, although less frequent than *lá* or *lās*, it has emphatic nuances with imperfectives and perfectives, e.g. 19/6/4 *má naġhād* "I do not deny" or 13/5/2 *má fatāht al-bāb hattā laqāytu* "As soon as I opened the door, I met him". In *az-Zağğālī* it is rarely used with imperfectives, while in *Ibn 'Āsim* and *Pedro de Alcalá* it appears more frequently.

In *Ibn 'Āsim's* proverbs *má* denies perfectives 487: *law zuwwtġ al-kālb' má nabāh* "If they got the dog married, he would not bark"; imperfectives 611: *má yudrá qīmat aš-šāy hattā yufqād* "One does not know the value of something until one loses it"; in conditional sentences 490: *law kān fa-l-būm ħāy' má klyaslm' 'ala š-šayyāda* "If there were something good in the owl, it would not be safe from hunters", and nominal sentences 154: *az-zālt' má lu murīwwa* "Poverty does not accept magnificence".

/lam/

The negative marker *lam* is quite common in certain texts, and much less so in others.

In *Ibn Quzmān* *lam* usually appears with imperfectives 21/16/1 *lam qāttu yanbāh li-ġār* "He never barks at neighbours". I should stress the use of the negative reinforcer *qāt(t)* with imperfectives and even jussives, which may be a classicism or a hypercorrection.

lam with perfective appears in *Ibn Quzmān* 23/5/3 in *lam alqá qālis alqá ġulġāl* "If he does not wear a bonnet, he wears jingle bells", and also with nominal

sentences 93/9/4 *lam tamma zağğāl an yaqūl dā t-tis'a ašṭār* "There is no zağal composer who can say these nine lines". The appearance of *lam* in the proverbs of Ibn ʿĀṣim is rather rare, and all such examples are constructed with imperfectives.

/laysa/

One of the most noteworthy features of Spanish Arabic negation is the transformation of the particle *laysa*.

This negative marker appears in the texts as *lās* or *lls*, depending on the register, and it may take third person suffixes, such as *lāssu*, feminine *lāssi* or plural *lāssum*.

This transformation was common in Ibn Quzmān where we have: 1/4/3 *lās akfā* "It was not enough", 4/1/2 *lās li mā'u wa'ād* "I do not have an appointment with him", 9/18/3 *lāssu kadāk* "It is not like that", and 2/0/2 *lls nağrī nusammih* "I dare not name him". These particles can rule imperfectives, perfectives and nominal sentences. Occasionally the particle 'an is inserted as in 88/2/2 *lissānhu wāqt i'ād* "It is not visiting time" or 83/14/2 *strat al-iḥsān ya lasānha stra* "The habit of being good to others is not a habit any longer". The gender and number distinction seems to be optional.

In the proverbs of az-Zağğālī and Ibn ʿĀṣim, the particle is always *lls* and is used only with imperfectives and nominal sentences. Its use seems more and more infrequent, as we can observe in the only two examples extant in the work of Ibn ʿĀṣim, where imperfectives are accompanied by the hybrid form *lls*.

In other texts of higher register like some Mozarabic documents of Toledo, we have *lāys* and its conjugated forms.

/lṣ/

The origin of this negative marker can be found in the interrogative *āš* "what" which became negative, as happened in Old Arabic with the particle *mā*, in Hebrew with 'en, in Ethiopic with 't or in Tigré with *tū*.³ In the case of the Spanish Arabic marker, the negative *lṣ* was differentiated from the interrogative *āš* by means of a second degree 'imāla.

Its use is commoner in the later forms of the dialect. Therefore, we find *lṣ* in Ibn Quzmān and az-Zağğālī with perfectives, imperfectives and nominal sentences, but not so frequently as in Ibn ʿĀṣim's proverbs or in the *Lexicon* of Pedro de Alcalá. In Ibn ʿĀṣim we find *lṣ* with perfectives 100: *lṣ u'mil as-sir illī l-abnā al-ḥalāl* "The wall was only built for honest people", imperfectives 155: *al-kālb al-ḡawwīl lṣ yakkūl min 'izām dāru* "The wandering dog does not eat bones from its house", to express prohibition 384: *hūd wṣṣ tağāl* "Take and do not put", with the verb *kān* plus eventuality 493: *law darā s-sāriq ma yadrī šāḥib ad-dār lṣ klyyaqdār lu aḥād* "If the thief knew what the owner of the house knows, nobody could do anything against him", and with nominal sentences 373: *hūt aš-šimīl lṣ lu šāwka* "[Imported] Northern fish does not have bones". The marker *lṣ* appears in the same proverb with the particle *lā*, as in proverb 540: *man lā mā'u rāḥa lṣ mā'u tiğāra* "Whoever does not have rest, does not make business".

³ See n. 1.

One peculiar construction which occurs in the dialect of Granada is the particle *lš* suffixed to the conditional marker *'in* plus the verb *kán* with *'imāla*, the resulting *ikkInlš* meaning "although", 291: *baḥāl šūqra ikkInlš tatallām tihūzzl rāsak* "Like a mother-in-law, although you do not speak, you move your head".

This particle *lš* and the above mentioned *lš* from *laysa* have produced two hybrid forms: *lš* and *lš*. *lš*, which appears occasionally in Ibn Quzmān, was used, as we have already seen, to deny imperfectives, as for example 433: *zámir qarfyya lš yulhl* "The flautist of one's village is not fun". In contrast, according to the available information, the particle *lš* seems to have been more common in the area of Valencia.

Lastly, and besides those particles, in the proverb collection of Ibn 'Āšim we find the secondary marker *-š(i)*, so common in modern Western dialects but rather rare in Spanish Arabic. There is only one example, 783: *lš tablt-šl* "You will not stay overnight".⁴

In conclusion, I should like to mention the simplification process that happened in the case of the Spanish Arabic negative markers, in particular the increasing use of the particles *má* and *lš* instead of *lá*, the almost complete disappearance of *lam* and the peculiar transformations of *laysa*.

As for Ibn 'Āšim's proverb collection, its variety of particles is not very representative of negation in the late period, since we have to take into account the fact that, in any language, proverbs pass from one generation to another, repeating earlier structures, even when these have become obsolete and people no longer understand them.

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⁴ This secondary marker is documented in two authors: aš-Šuštārī in 238 > *lā tanqasim-šl* < "you are not divided", and in three 'azḡāl of Ibn Zamrak, 5/3/2, 8/7/1 and 13/1/1; perhaps this imported marker was beginning to be used among the lowest registers of the dialect of Granada.

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NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ARABIC: TOWARDS A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

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0. Introduction

Aside from the taxonomic descriptions we find in ancient Arab grammarians books, no theoretically based analysis, as far as I know, has been proposed to deal with the phenomenon of negation in Arabic.

It is well known that negation is a very complex linguistic phenomenon for it involves morpho-syntactic, semantic as well as pragmatic aspects. In this paper, I will assume that functional Grammar (henceforth FG) is a framework which can provide us with a multi-level analysis that gives an adequate characterization of the various aspects of negative constructions in natural languages.

In section 1 and 2 I will give an overview of the properties of the negative constructions of Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA). In section 3 I will discuss the definition according to which negation is a speech act. Section 4 will be devoted to the way in which the properties of negative constructions in MSA may be adequately described within the FG framework.

1. Negative particles

Negation is expressed in MSA, by two kinds of particles: "simple particles" and "complex particles". Simple particles are those which consist of a single negative morpheme; complex particles are those "discontinuous" negative morphemes consisting of the negative particle proper and the restriction marker *'illā*.

In MSA, there are many particles with function as negative morphemes. The use of these particles is governed by a complementary distribution which will be examined in the following two subsections.

1.1 Simple particles

The main parameters co-determining the occurrence of negative particles in MSA are the following:

- (i) the syntactic category to which the predicate of the sentence belongs
- (ii) the mood, aspect and tense features of the predicate
- (iii) the scope of negation
- (iv) the position which may be occupied by the negative particle within the sentence
- (v) the form of the predicate.

With these five parameters in mind we can account for the distribution of negative particles in MSA in the following way:

1.1.1 *lam*

The negative particle *lam* occurs in a sentence with a verbal predicate as shown by the contrast between (1a) and (1b-c):

- (1) a. *lam ya'ti zaydun*
not come Zayd-nom
Zayd didn't come
- b. **lam zaydun* 'ustāḏun
not Zayd-nom teacher-nom
Zayd isn't a teacher
- c. **lam zaydun marīḏun*
not Zayd-nom ill-nom
Zayd isn't ill

The verbal predicate of *lam*-constructions must have 'perfective' and 'past' as its aspectual and tensal features. The contrast between (1a) and (2a-b) illustrates the point:

- (2) a. **lam ya'ti zaydun ḡadan*
not come Zayd-nom tomorrow
Zayd will not come tomorrow
- b. **lam yaktub zaydun r-risāḗata l-āna*
not write Zayd-nom the-letter-acc now
Zayd doesn't write the letter now

The particle *lam* combines with a verbal predicate taking the *yaf'al* form — called in traditional grammar *muḏān'* as the above examples show. When it combines with a verb taking the *fa'al* form (traditionally called *māḏī*), the result is odd:¹

- (3) **lam 'atā zaydun*
not come Zayd-nom
Zayd didn't come

As regards its scope, this particle may serve to negate (a) the predicate as in (4a) or (b) the entire sentence as shown by (4b):

- (4) a. *lam yakrah zaydun hindan bal 'aṣīqahā*
not detests Zayd-nom Hind-acc but loved-he-her
Zayd didn't detest Hind, he loved her
- b. *lam yasquṭi l-mataru*
not fall the-rain
It wasn't raining

Data suggest that *lam* is not used to negate one of the constituents of the sentence. This is evidenced by the fact that sentence like (5) are highly marked if not ungrammatical:

¹ In a variety of colloquial Egyptian Arabic, however, we can find negative constructions where the particle *lam* is associated with a *fa'al* verbal predicate as in the following sentence (extracted from an old song):

(i) *bi-t-tibri lam bi'tukum, bi-t-tibni bi'ūni*
with gold not sold-I-you with hay sold-you-me

I do not know whether the constructions exemplified in (i) come from an ancient non-standard Arabic dialect. Be that as it may, this kind of negative constructions do not occur even in standard colloquial Egyptian Arabic.

- (5) ?*lam* *ya'saq* *zaydun* *hindan* *bal* *zaynaba*
 not loves Zayd-nom Hind-acc but Zaynab-acc
 Zayd didn't love Hind; he loved Zaynab

That *lam* cannot have a single constituent in its scope is corroborated by the fact that the insertion of a constituent between it and the verbal predicate is prohibited as the ungrammaticality of (6) shows.²

- (6) ?*lam* *hindan* *ya'saq* *zaydun*
 not Hind-acc love Zayd-nom

1.1.2 *lan*

In general, *lan* has the same distributional features as *lam*. It combines only with a verbal predicate. Witness the ungrammaticality of (7b-c):

- (7) a. *lan* *ya'tiya* *zaydun*
 not come-fut Zayd-nom
 Zayd won't come
 b. **lan* *zaydun* *'ustāḍun*
 not Zayd-nom teacher-nom
 Zayd isn't a teacher
 c. **lan* *zaydun* *marīḍun*
 not Zayd-nom ill-nom
 Zayd isn't ill

It is never associated with a *fa'al* verbal predicate as the ungrammaticality of (8) shows:

- (8) **lan* *'atā* *zaydun*
 not came Zayd-nom
 Zayd didn't come

Like *lam*, this particle serves to negate either the verbal predicate it attaches to or the whole sentence. These two possible scopes can be illustrated by sentences (9a-b):

- (9) a. *lan* *yatazawwaḡa* *zaydun* *hindan* *bal* *sayīfāriqihā*
 not marries Zayd-nom Hind-acc but will leave-he-her
 b. *lan* *yasqūṭa* *l-maṭaru* *bal* *sayasfū* *l-ḡawwu*
 not falls the-rain-nom but fair the-weather-nom
 It won't rain; the weather will improve

The constructions understood on the basis that *lan* has in its scope a single constituent other than the predicate are highly marked:

² The negative constructions where *lam* preceded by a constituent are grammatical but highly marked; compare (5), for example, and (ii):

(ii) ?? *hindan* *lam* *ya'saq* *zaydun*
 Hind-acc not loved Zayd-nom
 It's Hind that Zayd didn't love

(iii) Like *lam*, *lan* may be preceded by a constituent but the result is a highly marked construction:

(iv) *hindan* *lan* *yatazawwaḡa* *zaydun*
 Hind-acc not will marry Zayd-nom
 It's not Hind that Zayd will marry

- (10) ??*lan yatazawwaġa zaydun hindan bal zaynaba*
 not marries Zayd-nom Hind-acc but Zaynab-acc
 Zayd will not marry Hind, he will marry Zaynab

As a consequence of this property, *lan* cannot be separated from the predicate by another constituent. The ungrammaticality of (11), for example, illustrates the point:

- (11) **lan hindan yatazawwaġa zaydun*
 not Hind-acc will marry Zayd-nom
 Zayd will not marry Hind

However, *lan* differs distributionally from *lam* with respect to mood, aspect and tense features. *lam*, as mentioned above, combines with a verb form in the indicative mood, the perfective aspect and the past tense whereas *lan* attaches to a verb conjugated at the subjunctive mood, the imperfective aspect and the future tense as shown by the contrast between (12a) and (12b) :

- (12) a. *lan yadhūla zaydun ġadan*
 not will-go-in Zayd-nom tomorrow
 Zayd won't go in tomorrow
 b. **lan yadhūl zaydun l-bārīhata*
 not go-in Zayd-nom yesterday
 Zayd didn't go in yesterday

1.1.3 *laysa*

It was argued in (Moutaouakil 1986) that *laysa* is a categorically 'hybrid' word: it behaves at once like a copular (or an auxiliary) verb and a negative morpheme. This negative verb-particle co-occurs with a (verbal or non-verbal) predicate with which are associated the aspectual and tensal features : "Imperfective" and "Present".

As a copular verb, it commutates with 'zero-copula' in present tense non-verbal sentences. Compare :

- (13) a. *zaydun tālibun*
 Zayd-nom student-nom
 Zayd is a student
 b. *hindun ġamīlatun*
 Hind-nom beautiful-nom
 Hind is beautiful
 (14) a. *laysa zaydun tāliban*
 is-not Zayd-nom student-acc
 Zayd isn't a student
 b. *laysat hindun ġamīlatan*
 is-not Hind-nom beautiful-acc
 Hind isn't beautiful

1.1.4 *mā*

The particle *mā* is used as a negative morpheme in sentences with a verbal, a nominal or an adjectival predicate as witnessed in sentences (15 a-c) :

- (15) a. *mā 'aḥabba zaydun hindan*
 not loved Zayd-nom Hind-acc
 Zayd didn't love Hind

- b. *mā* *ḥālidun* *qaṣṣāṣun*
 not *Ḥālid*-nom novelist-nom
Ḥālid isn't a novelist
- c. *mā* *hindun* *ḡaniyyatun*
 not *Hind*-nom rich-nom
Hind isn't rich

This particle cannot, however, combine with a verbal predicate taking the form *yaf* 'af' except when it constitutes a discontinuous negative morpheme with the restrictive particle *'illā*. The contrast (16a) - (16b) illustrates the point:

- (16) a. ??? *mā yuḥibbu zaydun hindan*
 not loves Zayd-nom Hind-acc
 Zayd doesn't love Hind
- b. *mā yuḥibbu zaydun 'illā hindan*
 not loves Zayd-nom except Hind-acc
 Zayd doesn't love but Hind

mā has the property of serving to negate (a) the predicate of the sentence, (b) the sentence in its entirety or (c) one of the constituents of the sentence as shown by the following examples:

- (17) a. *mā 'aḥabba zaydun hindan bal karihahā*
 not loved Zayd-nom Hind-acc but detested-he her
 Zayd didn't love Hind, he detested her
- b. *mā nazala l-maṭaru*
 not fell the-rain-nom
 It hasn't rained
- c. *mā hindan 'aḥabba zaydun bal zaynaba*
 not Hind-acc loved Zayd-nom but Zaynab-acc
 Zayd didn't love Hind; he loved Zaynab

Unlike the other negative particles examined above, *mā* does not attach to the predicate; rather, it occupies the first position in the initial area of the sentence. This can be evidenced by the following two facts:

(i) Unlike the other negatives, *mā* tolerates the insertion of the negated constituent between it and the predicate as shown by sentence (17c); further, the constituent being in its scope must follow it³ as the contrast (18a) - (18b) shows:

- (18) a. *mā hindan ra'aytu*
 not Hind-acc saw-I
 It wasn't Hind that I saw
- b. ??? *mā ra'aytu hindan*

³ With respect to this behaviour, *mā* resembles other sentential operators. I pointed out elsewhere (Moutaouakil 1984) that the interrogative particle 'a has the property of attracting the constituent falling under its scope (ie. the questioned constituents) as is shown by the contrast (Va)-(Vb):

- (v) a. 'a *zaydan qābaltā 'am 'amran?*
 Int-Part Zayd-acc met-you or 'Amr-acc
 Was it Zayd that you met or 'Amr?
- b. ??? 'a *qābaltā zaydan 'am 'amran?*
 Int-Part met-you Zayd-acc or 'Amr-acc
 Was it Zayd that you met or 'Amr?

(ii) No internal constituent can be positioned before *mā*;⁴ witness the ungrammaticality of constructions like (19):

- (19) *hindan mā ra'aytu*
Hind-acc not saw-I
It wasn't Hind that I saw

1.1.5 *lā*

lā is the negative particle which has the widest distributional field. It appears, therefore, in the most frequent negative constructions. I will try to account for the distribution of this particle by distinguishing four classes of environments: (a) *lā* + Verb, (b) *lā* + Nominal, (c) *lā* + Proposition and (d) *lā* as a coordinating particle. In this following subsection I will examine the properties of this negative particle in each of the four distributional classes.

1.1.5.1 *lā* + Verb

In *lā* + Verb environment the particle *lā* is associated with a *yaf'al*-Verb. The verb with which this particle is associated must be (conjugated) in the indicative mood and must express the imperfective aspect and the present tense. These requirements are fulfilled in sentence (20):

- (20) *lā yanzilu l-maṭaru l-yawma*
not falls the-rain-nom today
It isn't raining today

The verb may as well express 'zero-tense'⁵ as in (21):

- (21) *lā yaktubu zaydun aš-šī'ra bal yaktubu l-qīṣaṣa*
not write Zayd-nom the poetry but writes-he the novels-acc
Zayd doesn't write poetry; he writes novels

⁴ This constitutes one of the main properties of all sentential operators, which do not tolerate the positioning of some constituent before them, except when the pre-posed constituent is 'external' to the nuclear clause proper. Compare:

- (vi) a. * *zaydan mā 'a'aytu kitāban*
Zayd-acc not gave-I book-acc
It is not Zayd that I gave a book
b. *zaydun, mā 'a'aytuhu kitāban*
Zayd-nom not gave-I-him book-acc
Zayd, I didn't give him a book
(vii) a. * *zaydan 'a 'a'tayta kitāban ?*
Zayd-acc Int-Part gave-you book-acc
Was it Zayd that you gave a book?
b. *zaydun, 'a 'a'taytahu kitāban?*
Zayd-nom Int-Part gave-you-him book-acc
Zayd, did you give him a book?

Sentences (vi b) and (vii b), unlike sentences (vi a) and (vii a), are grammatical because the constituents preceding *mā* and *'a* are themes, i.e. constituents which do not belong to the clause proper.

⁵ By 'zero-tense', I mean what is traditionally called 'habitual present'. This tensal category indicates, in fact, no tense at all since the state of affairs designated by the predicate with which it is associated is conceived of as being true in the past, the present as well in the future.

The conclusion which may be drawn from the preceding remarks is that *lā* cannot combine with a Verb taking the scheme *fa'al* as shown by the ungrammaticality of (22):

- (22) **lā nāma ḥālidun*
 not slept *Ḥālid*-nom
 Ḥālid didn't sleep

This constraint is neutralized, however, when the illocutionary force associated with the sentence is a *prayer*.⁶ In this case, sentences within which *lā* is used with a *fa'al* verb are grammatical. For example, sentence (23) becomes perfectly grammatical when it is understood on the basis that it expresses not a statement but a '*prayer*':

- (23) *lā nāma ḥālidun*
 not sleeps *Ḥālid*-nom
 I wish that *Ḥālid* didn't sleep

lā may be used also with an imperative sentence as in (24):

- (24) *lā tadrib 'aḥāka* !
 not hit-you brother-acc-you
 Don't hit your brother

In fact, only *lā* can be used to negate an imperative sentence. The contrast between (24) and (25a-b) illustrates this point:

- (25) a. **lam tadrib 'aḥāka* !
 not hit-you brother-acc-you
 b. **lan tadrib 'aḥāka*
 not hit-you brother-acc-you
 c. **mā tadrib 'aḥāka*
 not hit brother-acc-you

Like *lam* and *lan*, the negative *lā* can have in its scope (a) the predicate, (b) one of the constituents of the sentence or (c) the whole sentence. Sentences (26a-c) illustrate these three types of negation scope:

- (26) a. *lā tadrib 'aḥāka bal qabbilhu*
 not hit brother-acc-you but kiss-you-him
 Don't hit your brother but kiss him
 b. *lā tadrib 'aḥāka bal 'aduwakka*
 not hit brother-acc-you but enemy-acc-you
 Don't hit your brother, hit your enemy
 c. *lā yanzilu l-mataru*
 not falls the-rain-nom
 It's not raining

Like *lam* and *lan*, it attaches to the predicate so it cannot be separated from it by another constituent as shown by the ungrammaticality of (27):

- (27) **lā 'amran yuqābilu ḥālidun*
 not 'Amr-acc meets *Ḥālid*-nom
 It isn't 'A. that *Ḥ.* meets

⁶ It is possible to describe this property in terms of mood. One can speak in this case of jussive mood.

1.1.5.2 *lā* + Noun

Consider the following two sentences:

- (28) a. *lā raḡula fī d-dāri*
 not man-acc in the-house-gen
 There is no man in the house
 b. *lā raḡulun fī d-dāri*
 not a-man-nom in the-house-gen
 There isn't a man in the house

In this pair of sentences, the particle *lā* combines not with the predicate of the sentence but with a noun, i.e. *raḡula* in (28a) and *raḡulun* in (28b). This is evidenced by the fact that no other constituent can be inserted between them. Witness the ungrammaticality of (29a-b):

- (29) a. **lā fī d-dāri raḡula*
 not in the-house-gen man-acc
 b. **lā fī d-dāri raḡulun*
 not in the-house-gen a-man-nom

Furthermore, it can have in its scope only the noun which it attaches to as it clear from the contrast between (30) and (31):

- (30) *lā raḡula fī d-dāri bal mra'atun*
 not man-acc in the-house-gen but woman-nom
 There is not a man in the house, but a woman
 (31) **lā raḡula fī d-dāri bal fī š-šār'i*
 not man-acc in the-house-gen but in the-street
 There is not a man in the house, but in the street

In fact, this particle can negate (a) the whole constituent with it combines as shown by (30) or (b) only the number feature associated with this constituent as in (32):

- (32) *lā raḡulun fī d-dāri bal raḡulāni/riḡālun*
 not man-nom in the-house-gen but man-dual-nom/man-plur-nom
 There is not one man in the house but two men/many men

It is never used to negate the whole sentence within which it occurs, witness the ungrammaticality of (33):

- (33) **lā raḡula fī d-dāri bal zaydun fī š-šār'i*
 not man-acc in the-house-gen but Zayd-nom in the-street

From the observation above, we can deduce that the most distinguishing property of the particle *lā* is that it is the negative morpheme which serves in MSA to negate in all contexts the nominal constituents to which it attaches.

At first glance it seems to behave like the English negative *no* occurring in constructions like (34), for example:

- (34) No man is in the room.

However, contrary to expectation, *lā* can attach only to the nominal constituent functioning as subject. Sentences where it appears with a constituent having another functional status are ungrammatical. Compare:

- (35) a. *lā kitāba fī l-maktabati*
 no book-acc in the-library-gen
 There is no book in the library

- b. *lā šay'a yahummu*
no thing does-matter-nom
Nothing is important
- (36) a. **ra'aytu lā raḡula*
saw-I no man-acc
b. **a'taytu lā raḡula mālan*
gave-I no man-acc money-acc
I gave no man money

Before closing this examination of *lā* + *N* negative pattern, we should notice that only an indefinite noun can co-occur with the particle *lā*. The contrast (37a)-(37b) illustrates the point:

- (37) a. *lā tilmīḏa fī l-qismi*
not pupil-acc in the-class-room-gen
There is no pupil in the class-room
b. **lā t-ilmīḏa fī l-qismi*
not the-pupil-nom in the-class-room-gen
The pupil isn't in the class-room

lā can, however, combine with a definite noun when it is iterated in coordinative constructions like (38):

- (38) *lā t-ilmīḏu fī l-qismi wa-lā l-'ustāḏu*⁷
not the-pupil-nom in the-class-room-gen and not the-teacher-nom
In the class-room, there is neither the pupil nor the teacher

I will return to this kind of negated coordinative constructions in the following subsection.

1.1.5.3 *lā* as a coordinator

In a functional study of coordinative constructions in Arabic (Moutaouakil 1986), I have shown that the negative *lā* used as a coordinator, has the following properties:

(i) It serves to coordinate two constituents, which can be nominals, verbs or adjectives as in (39a), (39b) and (39c) respectively:

- (39) a. *šaribtu šāyan lā labanan*
drunk-I tea-acc not milk-acc
I have drunk tea not milk
b. *rasaba lā naḡaha zayḏun*
failed not succeeded Zayd-nom
Zayd didn't succeed; he failed

⁷ In constructions like (35), the second coordinate element can be adjacent to the first one as in the following sentence:

(viii) *lā t-ilmīḏu wa-lā l-'ustāḏu fī l-qismi*
not the-pupil-nom and not the-teacher-nom in the-class-room-gen

In the classroom, there is neither the pupil nor the teacher

The two kinds of coordinated negative constructions, however, are not synonymous. It seems to me that the second coordinated element gets a focal value when it is separated from the first coordinated element.

- c. *hindun fariḥatun lā ḥazīnatun*
 Hind-nom happy-nom not sad-nom
 Hind is happy not sad

(ii) Unlike the coordinator *wa* ('and'), *lā* cannot coordinate more than two constituents. Compare:

- (40) a. *iṣṭaraytu kitāban wa-mağallatan wa-qalamān*
 bought-I book-acc and journal-acc and pencil-acc
 I bought a book, a journal and a pencil
 b. *iṣṭaraytu kitāban lā mağallatan*
 bought-I book-acc not journal-acc
 I bought a book not a journal
 c. **iṣṭaraytu kitāban lā mağallatan lā qalamān*
 bought-I book-acc not journal-acc not pencil-acc

(iii) *wa*, unlike *lā*, can coordinate two sentences as the contrast between (41a) and (41b) shows:

- (41) a. *daḥala zaydun wa-ḥarağat hindun*
 went-in Zayd-nom and went-out Hind-nom
 Zayd went in and Hind went out
 b. **daḥala zaydun lā ḥarağat hindun*
 went-in Zayd-nom not went-out Hind-nom

(iv) *lā* occurs in non negative contexts as is the case in sentence (40b) for example. However, it appears in sentences negated by means of one of the other negative particles⁸ following the coordinator *wa* as in (42):

- (42) *mā šaribtu šāyan wa-lā labanan*
 not drank-I tea-acc and not milk-acc
 I haven't drank tea nor milk

1.2 Complex negative particles

As mentioned above, Complex negative particles consist of discontinuous morphemes like *mā...illā*, *lā...illā*, *lam...illā* (all translatable by 'not...but'). These compound negative morphemes are used in the following way: The first element appears in the initial positional area of the sentence; the second element attaches to one of its constituents as witnessed in the following sentences:

- (43) a. *mā ḡā'a illā zaydun*
 not came except Zayd-nom
 Only Zayd has come

⁸ The ancient Arab grammarians assume that the coordination is expressed, in constructions like (39), only by the coordinator *wa*. It seems to me that it would be more reasonable to regard the whole compound particle *wa-lā* as expressing the coordination in this kind of construction. This view is evidenced by the fact that *lā* cannot co-occur with a coordinator other than *wa* as the ungrammaticality of the following sentences show:

- (ix) a - * *mā šaribtu šāyan fa-lā labanan*
 not drank-I tea-acc and not milk-acc
 b - * *mā šaribtu šāyan tumma lā labanan*
 not drank-I tea-acc and not milk-acc

- b. *lam* *yanğah* 'illā *hālidun* *
 not succeeded except Hālid-nom
 Only Hālid has succeeded
- c. *lā* *yaktubu* 'amrūn 'illā *š-šīra*
 not writes 'Amr-nom except poetry-acc
 'Amr writes only poetry
- d. *lan* 'ahruğa 'illā *ft l-masā'i*
 not go-out-I except in the-evening-gen
 I will go out only in the evening

Notice that any simple negative can combine with 'illā to constitute a complex discontinuous negative morpheme. In sentences (43a-d), the negatives *mā*, *lam*, *lā* and *lan* are associated with this particle. We can get also discontinuous negative morphemes whose first element is the particle *laysa* or the particle *'in* as in (44a) and (44b):

- (44) a. *laysa* *zaydun* 'illā *ā'iran*
 not Zayd-nom except poet-acc
 Zayd isn't but a poet
- b. *'in* *hindun* 'illā *ṣadīqatun*
 not Hind-nom except friend-nom
 Hind isn't but a friend

It should be noted, however, that the particle *'in* unlike the other particles, always appears in combination with 'illā. The sentences where it appears alone seem highly marked⁹ if not ungrammatical at all:

- (45) ??? *'in* 'a'lamu *hal* *ğā'a* 'amrūn
 not know-I Int-part came 'Amr-nom
 I don't know if 'Amr has come

As regards the semantics of the constructions containing the complex negative particles at hand, it was established by the ancient Arab grammarians that these constructions are used to express what was called *al-ḥaṣr* ('restriction'). According to these grammarians, the constructions in question are used to express two notions at once: the notion of negation and the notion of restriction. More explicitly speaking, in this kind of constructions a certain property is negated with respect to some set of entities and restricted to one of these entities. In sentence (43a), for instance, the property designated by the predicate *ğā'a* is assumed to be irrelevant for a certain potential set of entities and restricted to one of these entities that referred to by the constituent *zaydun*.

Before closing this section I would point out that in Arabic some constituents behave like negative morphemes in the sentence which are always associated with negative particles. This class of constituents includes: *'ahad*, ('somebody'), *ṣay* ('something'), *qaṭu* and *'abadan* (both translatable by 'never'). The occurrence of these constituents is illustrated by the following sentences:

⁹ Constructions like (42) were frequent in Classical Arabic, as witnessed in traditional grammar handbooks. In MSA, however, it seems that their use becomes quite limited.

- (46) a. *mā qābaltu 'aḥadan*
 not met-I some-body-acc
 I met nobody
- b. *mā fa'altu šay'an*
 not wrote-I something
 I did nothing
- c. *mā katabtu l-qīṣaṣa qatṭu*
 not wrote-I the-novels never
 I never wrote novels
- d. *lan 'udahhina 'abadan*
 not smoke-I never
 I will never smoke

It is possible to regard these constituents as forming with the negative particle with which they are associated a single negative discontinuous morpheme.¹⁰ This claim may be grounded by the following facts:

(i) The constituents at hand never occur in a non-negative context, witness the ungrammaticality of (47a-b):

- (47) a. **qābaltu 'aḥadan*
 met-I somebody
 I met somebody
- b. **katabtu l-qīṣaṣa qatṭu*
 wrote-I the-novels-acc never
- c. ? *'udahhina 'abadan*
 smoke-I never

The word *šay'*, however, may appear in a non-negative construction. (48), for example, is a perfectly grammatical sentence:

- (48) *katabtu šay'an*
 wrote-I something-acc

For explaining this phenomenon one can hypothesize that the 'grammaticalization' process involved in constructions like (46a) and (46c-d) has not yet arrived at its achievement in construction like (46b). In other words, unlike *'aḥad*, *qatṭu* and *'abadan*, *šay'* is not yet completely 'grammaticalized' as an element of a complex (discontinuous) negative morpheme.¹¹

¹⁰ There are grounds to believe that these words tend to constitute with the negative particle what is sometimes referred to as 'embracing negation' a phenomenon witnessed in French (*ne...pas*, *ne...jamais*, *ne...personne* etc...) among other languages.

¹¹ This grammaticalization process has taken place in modern colloquial Arabic languages, where the word *šay'* has developed into a mere suffix which attaches to the predicate of the negated constructions. Here are some examples of the relics of this word in modern colloquial Egyptian and modern colloquial Moroccan:

- (x) a. *ma ḥatariš 'ala bālak yūm*
 not come to mind-I on mind-you day
 You have never remembered me
- b. *ma ktəbš r-risāla*
 not wrote-I the-letter
 I didn't write the letter

(ii) When they occur in a negative sentence these words 'monopolize' the scope of negation so as no other constituent may be understood as the negated constituent. The ungrammaticality of the following sentences lies in the fact that constituents other than *'aḥad* and *qatṭu* fall under the scope of negation:

- (49) a. **mā l-bārīhata qābaltu 'aḥadan bal al-yawma*
 not yesterday met-I someone-acc but today-acc
 It isn't yesterday that I didn't meet someone but today
- b. **mā qābaltu 'aḥadan al-bārīhata bal al-yawma*
 not met-I someone yesterday-acc but today-acc
- (50) a. **mā zaydan qābaltu qatṭu bal 'amran*
 not Zayd-acc met-I never but 'Amr-acc
 It's not Zayd that I never met but 'Amr
- b. **mā qābaltu zaydan qatṭu bal 'amran*
 not met-I Zayd-acc never but 'Amr-acc

2. Negative constructions: the problem of the scope of negation

In Arabic (as probably in all natural languages), negative constructions differ with respect to the scope of negation. If one adopts the differences lying in the scope of negation as a classificatory criterion, one can distinguish between four main types of negation: 'sentence negation', 'constituent negation', 'illocutionary force negation' and 'modality negation'. In this section I will examine the main properties of the constructions involving each of these four types of negation.

2.1 Sentence negation

The negative constructions involving what we call 'sentence negation' are those constructions where the entire sentence is negated. The following sentences illustrate the point:

- (51) a. *mā sāfarat hindun*
 not travelled Hind-nom
 Hind hasn't travelled
- b. *lam ya'ud zaydun*
 not come-back Zayd-nom
 Zayd hasn't come back
- c. *lan yaḥḥama 'amrun darsa r-riyyādiyyāti*
 not will-understand 'Amr-nom lesson-acc mathematics-gen
 'Amr will not understand the lesson of mathematics

In (51a-c), the whole 'propositional content' falls under the scope of negation, i.e. the scope of the negative particles *mā*, *lam* and *lan*. As I have pointed out in the previous section, all the simple negative particles may serve to negate the entire propositional content of the sentences within which they appear. Examples illustrating this property are given there.

2.2 Constituent negation

By 'constituent negation' I mean the negation which takes in its scope one of the constituents of a sentence. The constituents which may fall under the scope of negation in the constructions involving what one may call 'partial negation' are (a) the

predicate itself or (b) one of the NPs (or PPs) associated with it. Here are some examples illustrating these two possibilities:

- (52) a. *lan yarsuba zaydun bal sayanğahu*
 not fails Zayd-nom but will-succeed-he
 Zayd will not fail; he will succeed
- b. *lam yahqur 'amrun bal tağayyaba*
 not come 'Amr-nom but was-absent-he
 'Amr hadn't come, he was absent
- (53) a. *mā hindan 'ahabba qaysun bal laylā*
 not Hind-acc loved Qays-nom but Layla-acc
 It wasn't Hind that Qays loved but Layla
- b. *mā masā'an ħarağtu bal šabāhan*
 not evening-acc went-out-I but morning-acc
 It wasn't in the evening that I went out in the morning

The negation of constituents is constrained, however, by the following two facts:

- (i) not all constituents can be negated,
 (ii) among negatable constituents some constituents are more accessible to negation than others.

As regards fact (i), it is commonly admitted that the constituent carrying presupposed 'old' information are hardly negatable. To put it another way, the constituent bearing the pragmatic function Topic does not fall under the scope of negation. Consider the following conversational exchange:

- (54) S : a. *māğā šaribat hindun ?*
 what drunk Hind-nom
 What did Hind drink ?
- A : b. *šaribat hindun qahwatan*
 drunk Hind-nom coffee-acc
 Hind drank coffee
- S : c. *mā qahwatan šaribat hindun bal šāyan*
 not coffee-acc drunk Hind-nom but tea-acc
 Hind didn't drink tea, she drank coffee
- d. **mā šaribat hindun qahwatan bal zaynabu*
 not drunk Hind-nom coffee-acc but Zaynab-nom
 It isn't Hind that drank coffee but Zaynab

In this dialogue, it is obvious that the constituent designating the entity which functions as Topic is *hindun*. The contrast between (54c) and (54d) shows that this constituent cannot fall under the scope of negation, hence the ungrammaticality of (54). This same contrast shows also that the constituent which is the best candidate for being negated is that carrying 'new information', i.e. the constituent *qahwatan*. As all sentential operators, negation can have in its scope only the nuclear clause or one of its constituents. This implies that the constituents which do not belong to the clause proper (as the so-called 'left dislocated' and 'right dislocated' constituents) are never touched by negation, as shown by the following two contrasts:

- (55) a. *al-kitābu, mā 'allaftuhu bal saħħaħtuhu*
 The-book-nom not wrote-I-it but corrected-I-it
 I haven't written this book; I have only corrected it

- b. **al-kitābu*, *mā* 'allaftuhu *bal* *l-qasīdata*
 The-book-nom not wrote-I-it but the-poem-acc
 The book, I haven't written it, but the poem
- (56) a. *mā* 'ahbabbuha, *hindun*, *bal* *karihtuhā*
 not loved-I-her Hind-nom but detested-I-her
 I didn't love her, Hind, I detested her
- b. **mā* 'ahbabbuhā, *hindun*, *bal* *zaynabu*
 not loved-I-her Hind-nom but Zaynab-nom
 I didn't love her, Hind; I love Zaynab

Notice that 'external constituents' cannot fall under the scope of negation even when they follow the negative particle, witness the ungrammaticality of sentence (57b):

- (57) a. *mā* *l-kitābu* 'allaftuhu *bal* *saḥḥaḥtuhu*
 not the-book-nom wrote-I-it but corrected-I-it
- b. **mā* *l-kitābu* 'allaftuhu *bal* *al-qasīdata*
 not the-book-nom wrote-I-it but the-poem-nom

Let us turn now to what is stated in (ii). In most works dealing with the phenomenon of negation in natural languages it is pointed out that some kinds of constituents are more likely negatable than others.

Belonging to this class of constituents are indefinite NPs, focused NPs, quantifiers and some adverbs. In order to contribute to provide an analysis which permits to account for this phenomenon in an unified and more principled way, I will make the following assumptions:

(a) In some languages, negated constituents are morpho-syntactically marked. In MSA as shown above, the constituent functioning as Subject in some peculiar constructions is marked when negated, by the negative prefix *lā*.

(b) When no constituent is morpho-syntactically marked as being the negated constituent in the sentence, the constituent which falls under the scope of negation is one of the preferred negatable words mentioned above, namely indefinite NPs, focused NPs (or PPs), quantifiers and adverbs.

(c) The examined data suggest that indefinite NPs, quantifiers and some adverbs carry 'new' (or 'contrastive') information more likely than they carry (presupposed) 'old' information. This explains the lower acceptability of sentences like (58b), (59b) and (60b) where constituents other than the indefinite NP, the quantifier and the manner adverb are in focus:

- (58) a. 'a'ṭā *zaydun* 'amran *kitāban*
 gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-nom book-acc
 Zayd gave 'Amr a book
- b. ??? 'a'ṭā *zaydun* 'amran *kitāban*
 gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-acc book-acc
 Zayd gave a book to 'Amr
- (59) a. 'a'ṭā *zaydun* 'amran *kulla l-kutubi*
 gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-acc all the-book-gen
 Zayd gave to 'Amr all the books
- b. ??? 'a'ṭā *zaydun* 'amran *kulla l-kutubi*
 gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-acc all-acc the-books-acc
- (60) a. *haraḡa* *zaydun* *al-yawma* *mubtasiman*
 went-out Zayd-nom today-acc smiling-acc

- b. ??? *haraġa zaydun al-yawma mubtasiman*
 went-out Zayd-nom today-acc smiling-acc

(d) As already mentioned above, there is an indubitable connection between negation and the informational status of the constituents so that the constituent which designates the focal¹² information is picked out to be in the scope of negation. This is confirmed by contrasts like (61a) - (61b) and (62a) - (62b):

- (61) a. *mā 'a'tā zaydun 'amran kitāban bal maġallatan*
 not gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-acc book-acc but a magazine-acc
 It isn't a book that Zayd gave to 'Amr, but a magazine
 b. ??? *mā 'a'tā zaydun 'amran kitāban bal hālidan*
 not gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-acc book-acc but Hālid-acc
 It isn't to 'Amr that Zayd gave a book, but to Hālid
 (62) a. *mā 'a'tā zaydun 'amran kulla l-kutubi bal ba'dahā*
 not gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-acc all the-books-gen but some of them
 Zayd didn't give 'Amr all the books; he gave him some of them
 b. ??? *mā 'a'tā zaydun 'amran kulla l-kutubi bal hālidan*
 not gave Zayd-nom 'Amr-acc all the-books-gen but Hālid-acc
 Zayd didn't give all the books to 'Amr, he gave them to Hālid

It becomes clear from the comparison between the sentences of pairs (61a-b) that the constituents monopolizing the scope of negation (i.e. indefinite NPs, quantifiers and some adverbs) are precisely those constituents which also monopolize the focus of the sentence. We can conclude from this that the constituent which always falls under the scope of negation is the constituent bearing the pragmatic function Focus.

If this conclusion is correct, we can formulate the following general principle:

- (63) In a negative sentence, the negated constituent is the focused constituent¹³

(e) There are constituents which are more easily focused than others. The most well known are indefinite NPs, quantifiers and some adverbs. Taking for granted that this observation is correct, we can express the 'Focus Accessibility Hierarchy' as follows:

- (64) *Focus Accessibility Hierarchy:*
 Indefinite NPs
 Quantifiers
 Some adverbs
] > other constituents

¹² In negative sentences the constituent in focus (which is the negated constituent) obligatorily carries contrastive information, i.e. the information the speaker assumes to be irrelevant with respect to the settings where the verbal exchange takes place. On the basis of this observation I will assume hereafter that the pragmatic function assigned to the focused constituent in negative constructions is the function 'focus of contrast'.

¹³ In fact, principle (60) is also true for the constructions containing a constituent to which the negative particle *lā* is attached, since this constituent is necessarily focused. Compare:

- (xi) a. *lā tilmidun fi l-qismi bal tilmidūni*
 not pupil-nom in the-class-room-gen but pupil-dual-nom
 There is not a student in the class-room; there are two
 b. * *lā tilmidun fi l-qismi bal fi s-sḥati*
 not pupil-nom in the-class-room-gen but in the play ground-gen

These preferred focused constituents have over the other constituents the privilege to monopolize the scope of negation. This property can be expressed by means of the 'Negation Accessibility Hierarchy' which I propose to formulate in the following way:

(65) *Negation Accessibility Hierarchy*:

Preferred focused constituents > focused constituents > other constituents
I have mentioned in the previous section that the particle *lā* may negate (a) the entire constituent to which it attaches or only (b) the operator numerating this constituent.

Examples (66a-b) illustrate these two scopal properties:

- (66) a. *lā tāliba fī l-qismi*
not student-acc in the-classroom-gen
There is no student in the classroom
b. *lā tālibun fī l-qismi bal tālibāni*
not student-nom in the-classroom-gen but student-dual-nom
There is not one student in the classroom, there are two students

Constructions like (66) are not exceptional since we find negative constructions where only a constituent operator falls under the scope of the negative morpheme. The negated constituent operator may be a numerator, a demonstrative or a quantifier as in (67a), (67b) and (67c) respectively:

- (67) a. *mā kitābayni qara'tu bal 'arba'ata kutubin*
not book-dual-acc read-I but four-acc books
I haven't read two books, I have read four books
b. *mā hādīhi l-fatāta 'a'šiqtu bal tilka*
not this the-girl-acc love-I but that-one-acc
I don't love this girl but that one
c. *mā ġamī'a l-ašdiqā'i qābaltu bal ba'dahum*
not all-acc the-friends-gen met-I but some-acc-them
I haven't met all the friends but only some of them

This kind of constructions raises a more general problem which can be formulated in the following questions:

- (i) Can negation 'penetrate' into a constituent and pick out one of its elements?
- (ii) Which elements can fall under the scope of negation: constituents operators, the head, or modifiers?
- (iii) Can one of the elements (operator, head or modifier) of a constituent be focused, i.e. bear the pragmatic function Focus?

Having, for the moment, no precise answers to these questions, I prefer not to go into a more detailed discussion of the problem of 'negation within constituent'. I will keep in mind, however, in the remainder of this study, the observation that the constituent operator may be negated element in a negative construction.

2.3 Illocutionary force negation

In 'Speech acts theory' (and in the pragmatically based linguistic models), a sentence is conceived of as a combination of a 'Propositional content' and an 'illocutionary force' which can consist of a 'statement', a 'question' a 'promise' etc...

Among the main arguments which were presented in order to justify the distinction 'Propositional content' Vs 'illocutionary force' is the fact that in a negative sentence,

negation may have in its scope the proposition carried by the sentence as in (68a) or the illocutionary force associated with it as in (68b):

- (68) a. *'a'iduka 'annanī lan 'azūrika*
 promise-I-you that-I not visit-I-you
 I promise that I won't visit you
 b. *lā 'a'iduka 'annanī sa'azūrika*
 not promise-I-you that-I will-visit-I-you
 I don't promise that I will visit you

In (68a) only the propositional content *'azūrika* is negated; in (68b) what falls under the scope of negation is the illocutionary force as expressed by the performative clause *'a'iduka*.

It should be noticed here that we have an 'illocutionary force negation' only if (a) the negated higher verb belongs to the class of so-called 'performative verbs' which includes verbs like *qāl* (to say), *wa'ad* (to promise), *'aw'ad* (to threaten) and others, (b) this verb fulfils the performativity requirements.¹⁴ When the second condition is not satisfied, the negated higher verb loses the property of expressing the illocutionary force although it belongs to the lexical class of performative verbs. In sentences (69a-c), for instance, the verb of the higher clause does not express any illocutionary force since it does not fulfil the performativity requirements:¹⁵

- (69) a. *lam 'a'idka bi-'annanī sa'azūrika*
 not promised-you with-that-I will-visit-I-you
 I didn't promise to visit you
 b. *lā 'a'iduka kaṭīran bi-'annanī sa'azūrika*
 not promise-I-you often-acc with-that-I will-visit-I-you
 I don't often promise to visit you
 c. *lā ya'iduka 'amrun bi-'annah sayazūrika*
 not promises-you 'Amr-nom with-that-he will-visit-he-you
 'Amr does not promise to visit you

The negative constructions exemplified by (69a-c) do not involve an illocutionary force negation. What is involved in this kind of constructions is merely a negation taking as its scope the higher clause.

2.4 Modality negation

By *modality*, I mean the "attitude the speaker may have with respect to the propositional content carried by the linguistic expression that uses in some verbal exchange". This 'propositional attitude' can be a certainty, a belief, a doubt, a will etc. In general, the modality associated with a proposition is expressed by means of a clause in which the clause indicating the propositional content is embedded, as shown by the following sentences:

¹⁴ In general, for being performative, a verb must (a) be conjugated in the Present Tense, and (b) have as its subject the first singular person pronoun.

¹⁵ In (69a-b) the tense requirement is not satisfied; in (69c), it is the subject requirement that is not fulfilled.

- (70) a. 'anā mutayaqqinun min 'anna hindan marīḏatun
 I sure-nom from that Hind-acc ill-nom
 I'm sure that Hind is ill
- b. 'azunnu 'anna hindan marīḏatun
 believe-I that Hind-acc ill-nom
 I believe that Hind is ill
- c. 'urīdu 'an ta'īda hindun
 want-I that come-back Hind-nom
 I want Hind to come back

In this kind of complex sentences, negation may have in its scope either the higher clause as in (71a) or the lower one as in (71b):

- (71) a. lā 'azunnu 'anna hindan marīḏatun
 not believe-I that Hind-acc ill-nom
 I don't believe that Hind is ill
- b. 'azunnu 'anna hindan laysat marīḏatan
 believe-I that Hind-acc is-not ill-acc
 I believe that Hind isn't ill

In the latter case, the part of the sentence which is negated is its propositional content; in the former case, what is negated is the modality associated with this propositional content.

3. Is negation a speech act?

According to some grammarians¹⁶ and some linguists,¹⁷ negation is a speech act in the sense that it consists of a denial of some information assumed by the speaker to be irrelevant. The speaker performing the following two sentences, for example, assumes that the information carried by the whole sentence and by the constituent *miṭṭafan* is irrelevant and, thus, denies it:

- (72) a. mā gādara 'amrun al-bayta
 not left 'Amr-nom the-house-acc
 'Amr didn't leave the house
- b. mā miṭṭafan iṣṭaraytu
 not coat-acc bought-I
 It wasn't a coat that I bought

A closer look at negative constructions across natural languages shows, however, that negation cannot be reasonably conceived of as a real speech act. The main argument which can be presented in favour of the claim that negation is not a speech act is the fact that it may combine with other speech acts like Assertion, Question, Command and so on. This is witnessed in sentences like (73a-c), for example:

¹⁶ In Ancient Arab linguistic thought, negated imperative constructions are seen as tools for performing the act of *nahy* (approximately translatable by 'prohibition').

¹⁷ In his pragmatic study of negative constructions, Givón (1978) tends to regard negation as a speech act.

- (73) a. *lam yuqābil hālidun hindan*
 not met Hālid-nom Hind-acc
 Hālid didn't meet Hind
- b. *'a mā 'a'taytuka l-kitāba ?*
 Int-Part not gave-I-you the-book-acc
 Didn't I give you the book
- c. *lā tadḥul !*
 not go-in-you
 Don't go in

Furthermore, negation may have in its scope a speech act as in sentences (68b) repeated here for convenience:

- (68) b. *lā 'a'iduka 'annanī sa'azūruka*
 not promise-I-you that-I will visit-I-you
 I don't promise that I will visit you

If negation is not a speech act, i.e. if it is not comparable to alleged speech acts like 'Statement', 'Question', 'Command', 'Promise' etc, what is its exact (pragmatic) functional status? For contributing to answer this question, I will make the following assumption: Among the speech acts the speaker can perform by means of linguistic expressions examined here is that of denying an information assumed by him/her to be irrelevant with respect to a given setting. He/she can also provide the addressee with the information he/she assumes to be relevant in the given setting. The following dialogue illustrates the point:

- (74) A: a. *ištarat hindun ḥidā'an*
 bought Hind-nom shoes-acc
 Hind bought shoes
- B: b. *mā ḥidā'an ištarat hindun*
 not shoes-acc bought Hind-nom
 It was not shoes that Hind bought
- c. *mā ḥidā'an ištarat hindun bal mi'taṣan*
 not shoes-acc bought Hind-nom but coat-acc
 It wasn't shoes that Hind bought, but a coat
- d. *mi'taṣan ištarat hindun lā ḥidā'an*
 coat-acc bought Hind-nom not shoes-acc
 It was a coat that Hind bought, not shoes

Sentences (74b-d) all are corrective answers to sentence (74a) in the sense that the speaker B assumes the information carried by the constituent *ḥidā'an* to be irrelevant with respect to the setting within which this dialogue takes place. In (74b), the irrelevant information is merely denied; in sentences (74c-d), not only is this information denied but it is also replaced by alternative information, i.e. the information the speaker assumes to be relevant with respect to the given setting.

On the basis of these observations, one can hypothesize that negation is a syntactic tool expressing the denial of an information assumed, in some setting, to be irrelevant. In other words, negation is not in itself a speech act; it is rather the formal expression of a speech act which consists of denying some irrelevant information. Accordingly, what can be conceived of as a speech act in negative constructions is the denial performed through these constructions, not the negation.

In the light of this hypothesis, the denial can be viewed as part of a more general speech act (i.e. a 'macro speech act') which one can call 'Refutation'. This speech act would consist of two sub-acts (or 'micro-acts'):

(a) The act of denying the irrelevant information (which can be carried by the whole clause or only by one of its constituents) and (b) the act of giving alternatives, i.e. the act of replacing the irrelevant information by the information assumed to be relevant. In this analysis, negation can be conceived of only as a morpho-syntactic means for expressing the former sub-act, i.e. the act of denial.

4. Towards a functional grammar of negation

In this section I will try to sketch out a grammar of negation in Arabic within the FG framework. Before doing so, I will briefly recall the general organization of the grammar in this theory and the early proposals made within it for describing the properties of negative constructions in natural languages.

4.1 Functional Grammar: An outline

In FG framework, linguistic expressions (i.e. sentences) are derived through building three main structures. These are: (a) 'predicative structure', (b) 'functional structure' and (c) 'constituent structure'.

Predicative structure is a formal representation of the logico-semantic properties of the sentence. There are specified: (a) the abstract form of the predicate and its syntactic category, (b) the 'terms' (arguments and satellites) associated with the predicate, (c) the semantic functions (Agent, Goal, Recipient...) that terms bear with respect to the state of affairs designated by the predicate and (d) the operators associated with the predicate.

- (75) *šarib hindun labanan*
 drunk Hind-nom milk-acc
 Hind drunk milk

- (76) [Ind [Perf [Pass *šarib* V (d1fx' : *hind* (x¹)) Ag (d1mx² : *laban* (x²)) Go]]]

In structure (75), *šarib*, is represented as being a two-place verbal predicate taking the terms *hind* and *laban* as its Agent and Goal arguments respectively. In the same structure, are coded the modal ((Ind(icative)), aspectual ((Perf(ective)) and temporal ((Pas(t)) operators and the operators associated with the two arguments, namely: 'definiteness' (represented as 'd'), number (represented as '1' for singular) and gender (represented as 'm' for masculine and 'f' for feminine).

The predicative structure is converted into a functional structure through the application of two sets of rules: (a) the functions assignment rules and (b) the predication operator specification rules. The terms of the predicative structure are assigned two kinds of functions: syntactic functions (Subject and Object) and pragmatic functions (Topic and Focus). Notice that we distinguish, between two types of Focus: 'Focus of new' and 'Focus of contrast' (cf. Moutaouakil 1984). The former function is assigned to the term (or the predication) carrying information unknown to the speaker or the hearer; the latter function is assigned to the term (or the predication) carrying the information constituting the contrastive difference in the pragmatic knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. The predication operator serves to indicate the illocutionary force associated with the predication. In Moutaouakil

¹⁸ What I call 'phrase constituency rules' is discussed in detail in Moutaouakil (1988).

In pattern (81), two kinds of positions and 'external' positions. External positions are the positions occupied by the constituents which do not belong to the predication proper, i.e., the constituents theme, tail and vocative. These constituents are basically located in P2, P3 and P4 respectively according to the general schema (82):

(82) Vocative, theme (i), [iii xi iii], Tail

As for the so-called 'internal positions', they are filled according to the following procedure: 'P1-constituents' (i.e. subordinators, relative pronouns and illocutionary force devices) go to the absolute initial position P1; questioned words (i.e. interrogative pronouns) and the constituents bearing Topic function or Focus of contrast function occupy the second initial position P0. Rules (83) and (84) have been formulated to account for the placement of these two kinds of constituents.

(83) P1 constituents —> P1

(84) ? Pro
Top
Foc contr —> P0

Here are some examples illustrating the order of constituents resulting from the application of rule (83) and rule (84) respectively:

- (85) a. *hal raġa'a hālidun ?*
Int-particle came-back Hālid-nom
Did Hālid come back ?
b. *'inna hindan luġawiyyatun mumtāzatur*
Foc-particle Hind-acc linguist-nom excellent-nom
Hind is surely an excellent linguist
(86) a. *man qābalta ?*
Who met-you
Who did you meet ?
b. *fī l-maqhā (Top) šaribtu šāyan*
in the-cafe-gen drank-I tea-acc
In the cafe, I drank tea
c. *šāyan (Foc contr) šaribtu*
tea-acc drunk-I
It was tea that I drank

The three positions V, S and O are filled by the verbal predicate and the constituents bearing Subject and Object functions, according to rules (87 a-c):

- (87) a. Verb —> V
b. Subj —> S
c. Obj —> O

PT is a 'special' position¹⁰ which may be occupied, under certain conditions, by the constituent bearing the Topic function or by the constituent which must be preposed according to the so-called 'Lipoc' principle.²⁰ Sentences (88 a-b) illustrate the point:

¹⁰ Arguments in favour of postulating this position are given in Moutaouakil (forthcoming, a).

²⁰ According to the principle of 'language independent preferred order of constituents', the constituents are ordered with respect to their categorial complexity, so that the more complex constituents tend to be placed after the less complex ones.

- (88) a. *šaribati l-labana* (Top) *hindun*
 drank the-milk-acc Hind-nom
 Hind drunk milk
 b. *'ahzana hindan 'ann 'amran ġādara r-ribāta*²¹
 saddened Hind-acc that 'Amr-acc left Rabat-acc
 Hind was saddened by the fact that 'Amr left Rabat

As for X, it is conceived of as the positional area (containing more than one position) within which are located all the constituents which have not any syntactic nor any pragmatic functions enabling them to be placed in a special position. The general rule responsible for the placement of this kind of constituents is formulated as follows:

- (89) X-constituents \longrightarrow X

In sentence (90), for example, the constituents *al-yawma* and *fī l-maqhā* both occupy the X positional area according to rule (89):

- (90) *qābalat zaynabu hindan al-yawma fī l-maqhā*
 met Zaynab-nom Hind-acc today-acc in the cafe-gen
 Zaynab met Hind today in the cafe

Let us turn now to the unordered structure (80). Through the application of placement rules (87 a-c) the verb *šaribat* and the constituents *hind* and *laban* bearing the syntactic functions Subject and Object are placed in the positions V,S and O respectively resulting in structure (91):

- (91) [*šaribat* [*hind*] [*laban*]]

This structure becomes a fully specified constituent structure through the application of the 'accent and intonation assignment rules' (which will not be explicitly discussed here).

4.2 Negation in Functional Grammar

What should one notice then? First of all is the fact that negative constructions have not received, until now, great interest within the FG framework. Aside from some general assumptions about the formal representation of negative operators made in Dik's writings (1978, 1989), one does not find, as far as I can judge, any concrete study of the phenomenon of negation in the functional literature.

In the remainder of this paper, I will give an outline of an approach of Arabic negative constructions compatible with the organization of the grammar in FG.

4.2.1 Negative operators

The best way to formalize negation within the FG framework is to represent it by means of operators at the predicative structure level. As far as Arabic negative constructions are concerned, three negative operators can be distinguished: 'predicate negative operator', 'predication negative operator' and term negative operator'.

²¹ In sentence (88b), the object constituent *hindan* precedes the subject constituent *'anna 'amran ġādara r-ribāta* because the latter constituent is categorically more complex than the former. The functionally motivated ordering of these two constituents would lead to the following highly marked construction:

(xii) ??? *'ahzana 'anna 'amran ġādara r-ribāta hindan*
 saddened that 'Amr-acc left Rabat-acc Hind-acc

4.2.1.1 Predicate negative operator

In the predicative structure underlying some negative sentences, a negative operator (noted Neg) is added to the combination of predicate operators representing the mood, aspect and tense features of the predicate. According to this analysis, the predicate structure underlying sentence (92), for example, can be represented as (93):

- (92) *lam tašrab hindun labanan*
 not drinks Hind-nom milk-acc
 Hind didn't drink milk
- (93) [Neg [Ind [Perf [Past *šarib* V (d1fx¹ : *hind* (x¹)) Ag (d1mx² : *laban* (x²)) Go]]]]

4.2.1.2 Predication negative operator

In the predicative structures of some other negative sentences, namely those containing the negative particle *mā*, negation is coded by means of a predication negative operator (also noted Neg). This representation differs from that adopted above in that the operator Neg does not belong to the combination of the predicate operators. It is rather a part of the combination of the potential predication operators as it becomes clear from predicative structure (95) which can be regarded as representing the underlying structure of sentence (94):

- (94) *mā šaribat hindun labanan*
 not drank Hind-nom milk-acc
 Hind didn't drink milk
- (95) [Neg ([Ind [Perf [Past *šarib* V]]]) (d1fx¹ : *hind* (x¹)) Ag (d1mx² : *laban* (x²)) Go]

4.2.1.3 Term negative operator

In section 1 I have pointed out that the negative particle *lā* attaches to the constituent functioning as Subject in negative constructions like (96):

- (96) *lā tāliba ġā'ibun*
 not student-acc absent-nom
 No student is absent

It goes without saying that in this kind of constructions the negative particle must be represented in the underlying predicative structure as an operator belonging to the combination of operators associated with the negated term. According to this conception, the predicative structure of sentence (96) would be something like (97):

- (97) [Ind [Imperf [Pres *ġā'ib* A (Neg ilmx¹ : *tālib* (x¹)) Po]]]

To sum up: the particles used in MSA to express negation are represented at the (underlying) predicative structure level by means of three kinds of operators: predicate operator, predication operator and term operator. This analysis seems to me more adequate than any other analysis backed by the assumption that negative particles can be represented in the underlying structure by one (and only one) abstract negative marker attached to the S-node, the Aux-node or the determiner

node of some constituent.²² Such an analysis would necessarily imply the use of transformational rules which permit to incorporate the negative morpheme into the negated constituent. The analysis we have adopted does not need any transformational rule for it basically specifies the location of the negative morpheme, i.e. it determines in the underlying structure itself the constituent to which this morpheme will be attached. This same property prevents it from generating structures which are never actually realized.

4.2.2 Negative operators and the scope of negation

As shown in section 2, some constituents may fall under the scope of the negative particle even if this particle is not directly attached to them. This implies, in terms of the analysis sketched out in the previous subsection, that some negative operators (namely predicate operator and predication operator) may have in their scope the constituent (the predicate or the whole predication) to which they attach or some other constituent. Recall that the particle *mā*, although it functions as a predication operator, may take in its scope the whole predication to which it attaches or one of its constituents as it becomes clear from the comparison of sentences (98 a-c):

- (98) a. *mā gādarat hindun al-madīnata*
 not left Hind-nom the-city-acc
 Hind hasn't left the city
 b. *mā gaḍibat hindun*
 not got angry Hind-nom
 Hind didn't get angry
 c. *mā daḡāḡan 'akalat hindun*
 not chicken ate Hind-nom
 It wasn't chicken that Hind ate

To deal with the problems of the scope of negation within the FG framework, I will make the following general proposals:

- (i) In the case of constructions like (96) repeated here convenience:
 (96) *lā ṭāliba ḡā'ibun*
 not student-acc absent-nom
 No student is absent

The constituent to which the negative particle is attached is the constituent falling under the scope of negation, whatever its pragmatic function is.²³

(ii) In the case of the constructions containing a negative particle attached to the whole predication (i.e. the particle *mā*) or to the predicate (i.e. the particles *lām*, *lan*, *lā...*), it is the constituent (i.e. the predication, the predicate or one of the terms) to which the pragmatic function Focus is assigned that is taken in the scope of negation, as predicted by principle (65).

According to the negation-Focus connection, the functional structures of sentences (98a), (98b) and (98c) can be represented as (99), (100) and (101) respectively:

²² An overview of the main analysis proposed, since 1960, within the various generative transformational theories, is given in Lasnik (1976).

²³ As is noticed above, the pragmatic function that the negated constituent bears in constructions like (96) is in fact the focus of contrast.

- (99) [Ass [Neg {[Ind [Perf [Past *ğādar* V]]}] (d1fx¹ : *hind* (x¹)) Ag Subj Top
(d1fx² : *madīnat* (x²)) Go Obj] Foc new]
- (100) [Ass [Neg {[Ind [Perf [Past *ğadīb* V]]}] Foc contr (d1fx¹ : *hind* (x¹)) Po
Subj Top]]
- (101) [Ass [Neg {[Ind [Perf [Past *'akal* V]]}] (d1fx¹ : *hind* (x¹)) Ag Subj Top
(d1mx² : *dağāğ* (x²)) Go Obj Foc contr]]

In all functional structures (99-101), the negative operator is represented as a predication operator. Its scope, however, is not the same in these three structures. In (99), it takes in its scope the entire predication whereas in (100) and (101) only one element of the predication falls under its influence, i.e. the predicate and the second argument respectively. The difference in scope between the three functional structures under examination lies in which element the pragmatic function Focus is assigned to.

(iii) A functional structure containing a negative operator and an element (a predicate, a predication or a term) bearing the Focus function must be interpreted on the basis that the negated element (i.e. the element taken in the scope of the negative operator) is that element to which the Focus function is assigned.

(iv) It is commonly admitted that the notion of the scope of negation is connected with the linear order of constituents so that the negative morpheme can take in its scope only one of the constituents which precede the negative morpheme are outside its scope.

This observation seems to pose a problem for FG in the sense that in this grammar the structure in which the scope relationships are represented is unordered. This means that this kind of relationships should be represented only at the "constituent structure" level, i.e. after the constituents have been ordered. In this case, we must provide FG with an ad hoc interpretive semantic component which would operate on the output of the placement rules.

This problem vanishes, however, when we keep in mind the following observations: First, the scope of negation is connected, as shown above, with the pragmatic function Focus. Second, the connection between negation and Focus holds whatever the order of the constituent is: The focused constituent falls under the scope of the negative particle when it follows this particle as well as when it precedes it. Third, the constituents which are always outside the scope of negation are functionally marked: These are (a) the 'external' constituents theme and tail which never fall under the influence of the negative particle (this particle as stated above, can take in its scope only the predication proper or one of its elements) and (b) the internal elements bearing the pragmatic function of Topic.²⁴

From these observations, it follows that the negative scope relationships can be captured at the level of an unordered but functionally specified structure similar to

²⁴ As already mentioned, topic constituents never fall under the influence of the negative particle even when they follow it.

the functional structure proposed within the FG framework, only on the basis of the negative morpheme-focused constituent connection.²⁵

(v) As for the complex sentences within which the negated constituent is the higher clause expressing the illocutionary force or the modality, they can be represented, at the functional level, as complex predications with a negative operator taking in its scope the first (higher) predication. The functional structures underlying sentences (68b) and (71a) repeated here for convenience are structures (102) and (103) respectively:

- (68) b. *lā 'a'iduka 'annanī sa'azīruka*
not promise-I-you that-I will-visit-I-you
I don't promise you that I will visit you

- (71) a. *lā 'azunnu 'anna hindan marīḍatun*
not believe-I that Hind-acc il-nom
I don't believe that Hind is ill

- (102) [{Neg [Ind [Imperf [Pres *wa'ad* V (d1mx¹ : 1p(x¹)) Po Subj Top]]]] Foc
contr (Subx² : [Ind [Imperf [Fut *zār* V (d1mx¹ : 1p(x^j)) Ag Subj (d1mx^x
: 2p(x^k)) Go Obj]]] (x²)) Go Obj]

- (103) [Ass {Neg [Ind [Imperf [Pres *zann* V (d1mx¹ : 1p(x¹)) Po Subj Top]]]]
Foc (Subx² : [Ind [Imperf [Pres *marīḍat* A (d1fx¹ : hind(x^j)) Po
Subj]]] (x²)) Go Obj]

²⁵ Contrary to expectation, this analysis is not faced by the famous problem of the scope differences involved in constructions containing both a negative particle and a quantifier. In MSA the quantifier falls under the scope of negation when it is focused, as is usually the case, whatever its position with respect to the negative particle is. The following sentences illustrate the point:

- (xiii) a. *lām 'uqḍbil kulla t-talḍmīḍi*
not met-I all-acc the-pupils-gen
It was not all the pupils that I met
b. *kulla t-talḍmīḍi lām 'uqḍbil*
all-acc the-pupils-gen not met-I
It was not all the pupils that I met

In negative constructions where it is not focused (i.e. where it bears the pragmatic function Topic), the quantified constituent escapes from the influence of the negative particle as in (xiv a-b):

- (xiv) a. *kulla t-talḍmīḍi lām 'uqḍbilhum*
all-acc the-pupils-gen not met-I-them
All the pupils, I didn't meet
b. *kulla t-talḍmīḍi lām 'uqḍbil*
all-acc the-pupils-gen not met-I
All the pupils, I didn't meet

When the quantifier is a part of an external constituent (i.e. a Theme or a Tail), needless to say that it is outside the scope of negation since it does not belong to the predication proper. This becomes clear from the following sentences;

- (xv) a. *kulla t-talḍmīḍi lām 'uqḍbilhum*
all-nom the-pupils-gen not met-I-them
As for all the pupils, I didn't meet them
b. *lām 'uqḍbil at-talḍmīḍa, kullahum*
not met-I the-pupils-gen all-acc-them
I didn't meet all of the pupils

From these observations, one can deduce that negation-quantifier relationships do not constitute a counterexample to the analysis striving to account for the scope of negation independently of the order of constituents.

In both structures (102) and (103), negation is represented by means of a negative operator attached to the predicate of the higher predication. This representation is backed by the idea that only the higher predication (i.e. the predication designating the illocutionary force or the modality) falls under the scope of negation. This is not, however, the case of all occurrences of negated complex sentences with a higher verb expressing modality. Sentence (71b) for example, can be understood on the basis that it is synonymous with sentence (104) where the negated constituent is the lower clause, not the higher one:

- (104) *'azunnu 'anna hindan laysat marīdatun*
 believe-I that Hind-acc is-not ill-nom
 I believe that Hind isn't ill

This phenomenon can be accounted for in terms of the general principle stated in (65). The negative particle kinds the higher predication if this predication is focused; otherwise it leaps over and takes in its scope the lower predication. Thus, sentence (71a), when interpreted as synonymous with (104) has as underlying structure, structure (105) not structure (103):

- (105) [Ass {Neg [Ind [Imperf [Pres *zann* V (d1mx¹ : 1p(x¹)) Po Subj Top}
 (Subx² : [Ind [Imperf [Pres *marīdat* A (d1fx¹ : *hind* (x¹)) Po Subj]]]
 (x²)) Go Obj Foc]

Again, notice that the Negation-Focus connection, as understood within the FG framework, prevents us from using additional and perhaps ad hoc rules for describing the scope properties of negative constructions.

4.2.3 Formal realization of negative operators

In this subsection, I will be concerned with the expression rules responsible for the mapping of functional structures containing negative operators into constituent structures with negative particles. In other words, I will formulate the rules determining the way in which (abstract) negative operators are converted into actual negative particles.

4.2.3.1 Term operators

Recall that term operators are converted into determiners (definite (or indefinite) articles, numerators, demonstratives, quantifiers etc...) through the application of a subset of what I proposed to call 'phrase constituency rules'. By means of this subset of rules, the negative operator (Neg) attached to the negated term in the functional structure underlying constructions like (97) is replaced by the negative particle *lā*. The rule responsible for this conversion can be formulated in the following way:

- (106) [φ (Neg i x¹: ... (x¹)) Subj] \rightarrow
 [φ (*lā* x¹ : ... (x¹)) Subj]

4.2.3.2 Predicate operator

As mentioned above, the predicate gets its actual morpho-syntactic form by means of the 'predicate constituency rules'. These rules operate according to the information coded in the functional structure, i.e. namely the indicators of mood, aspect and tense features. Among this subset of rules, I will postulate rules which determine the formal expression of the predicate negative operator, i.e. the negative

particles onto which the (abstract) predicate negative operator is mapped. On the basis of the observations made in section 1, these rules can be formulated as follows:

- (107) [Ass {Ind [Perf [Past ϕ V [yaf'al] ..]]}] \rightarrow
 (108) [Ass {Neg [Ind [Perf [Past ϕ V [yaf'al]]]]}] ..] \rightarrow
 [Ass {lam [Ind [Perf [Past ϕ V [yaf'al]]]]}] ..]
 (109) [Ass {Neg [Ind [Imperf [Pres ϕ V [yaf'al]]]]}] ..] \rightarrow
 [Ass {lā [Ind [Imperf [Pres ϕ V [yaf'al]]]]}] ..]
 (110) [Ass {Neg [Ind [Imperf [Fut ϕ V ...]]]}] ..] \rightarrow
 [Ass {lan [Ind [Imperf [Fut ϕ V ...]]]}] ..]
 (111) [Juss {Neg [[Imperf [Pres ϕ V [fa'al]]]]}] ..] \rightarrow
 [Juss {lā [[Imperf [Pres ϕ V [fa'al]]]]}] ..]

4.2.3.3 Predication operator

Recall that I have assumed above that the negative constructions introduced by the particle *mā* must have as underlying representation a structure containing a predication negative operator. Recall also that this particle is more likely used in negative constructions with a *fa'al* verbal predicate, i.e. a predicate having as its operators the combination Indicative-Perfective-Past, or a non-verbal predicate.

In these two claims are tenable, the rule responsible for the insertion of the particle *mā* can be formulated in the following way:

- (112) [Neg {[Ind [Perf [Past ϕ v [fa'al]]]]}] ..] \rightarrow
 [mā {[Ind [Perf [Past ϕ -v [fa'al]]]]}] ...]
 ϕ -v

4.2.3.4 *laysa* insertion

I have shown above, that *laysa* is a 'hybrid' category in the sense that it functions as a copular verb and a negative morpheme at once. Being a copular verb expressing the aspectual and tensal features that non-verbal predicates cannot indicate by themselves *laysa* is inserted at the constituent structure level by means of a predicate constituency rule which I called elsewhere (Moutaouakil 1988) 'copula insertion rule'. Keeping in mind the properties of *laysa* discussed in section 1, we can formulate the rule responsible for the insertion of this particle as follows:

- (113) [Neg {[Ind [Imperf [Pres ϕ]]}] ..] \rightarrow
 [laysa v ϕ ...]

4.2.4 The order of constituents in negative constructions

The order of constituents is determined by a subset of rules, the 'placement rules', according to the positional pattern(s) assumed to be relevant in the language under examination. I will concentrate here on those placement rules which determine the ordering of (a) negative particles and (b) the negated constituents.

4.2.4.1 Negative particles placement

The negative particle *lā* attached to one of the terms of the predication is placed in the initial position of that term as a determiner according to the general phrase constituency rule (114):

- (114) [Det, Head, Mod] \rightarrow [Det Head Mod]
 where: Det = Determiner; Mod = Modifier.

(114) is the rule responsible for the placement of *lā* in constructions like (96) repeated here for convenience:

- (96) *lā ṭāliba ḡā'ibun*
 not student-acc absent-nom
 No student is absent

The particles that can be attached to the predicate, i.e. *lā*, *lam* and *lan*, function, as shown above, as predicate operators and thus form one constituent with that predicate. This complex constituent is placed in the position of the verbal predicate according to rule (89a) repeated here for convenience:

- (89a) Verb \longrightarrow V

The negative copular verb *laysa* occupies, as all copular verbs, the position COP according to positional pattern (115):

- (115) P4, P2, P1 P0 COP S Φ (0) X, P3

The rule responsible for the placement of copular verbs can be formulated as follows:

- (116) Copular verb \longrightarrow COP

As for the particle *mā*, it occupies, as a predication operator, the absolute initial position in the predication proper, i.e. the position P1. The rule which is assumed to account for the placement of this particle is rule (84) repeated here for convenience:

- (84) P1 - constituents \longrightarrow P1

4.2.4.2 Negated constituents placement

As far as Arabic negative constructions are concerned, we can state that, in general, negation plays no role in the ordering of constituents. In other words, the constituents are ordered in both negative and non-negative constructions according to the same parameters.

Bearing usually the pragmatic function 'focus of contrast' the negated constituent is more likely located in the second initial position within the predication proper, i.e. the position P0. thus the constituents *zaydan*, *hindan*, *al-labana* and *kitāban* occupy the initial position in sentences (117a-d) because they bear the Focus of contrast function:

- (117) a. *zaydan lam 'uqābil*
 Zayd-acc not met-I
 It is Zayd that I didn't meet
 b. *hindan lan 'uqābila*
 Hind-acc not will-meet-I
 It is Hind that I will not meet
 c. *al-labana lā 'ašrabu*
 the-milk-acc not drink-I
 It is milk that I don't drink
 d. *mā kitāban katahtu*
 not book-acc wrote-I
 It isn't a book that I wrote

The responsible for the placement of these constituents is the general rule which determines the position of focused constituents. This rule has been formulated above as (84):

$$(84) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} ?Pro \\ Foc \\ Top \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow PO$$

where: ?Pro = Interrogative pronoun

Summary and Conclusions:

In MSA negation may be expressed by more than one (simple or complex) negative particle. The use of these particles is determined by interacting parameters, namely (a) the illocutionary force associated with the sentence, (b) the mood, aspect and tense feature of the predicate, (c) the categorial status and the form of predicate, (d) the scope of negation and (e) the position which may be occupied by the negative morpheme. Negation can take in its scope the (a) whole sentence, (b) one of its constituents, or (c) the (higher) clause expressing the illocutionary force or the modality associated with the propositional content of the sentence.

Aside from peculiar negative constructions where the negative particle (*lā*) attaches to the negated constituents, negation takes in its scope the constituent carrying the contrastive information i.e. the constituent in Focus. There are grounds to believe that negation is not in itself a speech act. Rather it is a morpho-syntactic device that natural languages use to express the speech act of denial which in turn consists of a 'sub-act' of a macro-speech act one call 'refutation'.

These properties of negative constructions in MSA can be fruitfully approached in terms of FG. Within this framework, negative particles are represented in the underlying structure as (a) predicate operators, (b) predication operators or (c) term operators.

The scope relationships are captured in this structure through the negative operator-Focus of contrast connection. The formal realization of negative operators (i.e. their conversion into negative particles) is accounted for by means of three subsets of 'expression rules': 'phrase constituency rules', 'predicate constituency rules' and 'mā insertion rules'. This approach has over analyses proposed within other frameworks the following advantages:

- (i) It describes in a principled way the interaction of the pragmatics, the semantics and the syntax of negative constructions;
- (ii) It represents in an explicit manner the connection between negation and the communicative act it is used to express;
- (iii) It provides a representation of the scope properties of negative constructions which prevents the use of undesirable (transformational) rules or interpretive devices based on sequential relationships between constituents;
- (iv) With such a representation, it is possible to account for the scope relationships in negative constructions in a greater number of natural languages.

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ARABIC GRAMMAR: PROBLEMS AND REFORM EFFORTS

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Introduction

Arabic grammar has traditionally presented considerable difficulties for both learners and teachers of the language. Such difficulties may be attributed to the excessive amount of rules, details and the highly complex, abstract and philosophical method in which the grammar was originally presented and in which it continues to be presented. To date, except for a limited number of attempts¹, Arabic grammar textbooks continue to present the grammar in more or less the same framework and with the same terminology and arguments which the earliest grammarians employed some thirteen centuries ago. Added to this is the fact that traditional presentations of Arabic grammar are not written in brief and simple language, nor are the rules presented in a clear and precise form. If anything, the rules of the grammar are written in a complex, over-detailed and difficult language replete with technical and far-fetched arguments and terminologies.

The complexity of Arabic grammatical presentations was further compounded by two factors, the development of what came later on to be known as grammatical reasons *al-'ilal an-naḥwiyya* by scholars of the second and third centuries A.H. and the fact that grammatical studies did not rise in an intellectual vacuum, but were accompanied by such disciplines as *fiqh* (jurisprudence, philology), *'ilm al-kalām* (scholastic theology), and *i'tizāl* (religious rationalism). This led to the development of an interaction and interdependence among these disciplines as all of them had their roots and the focus of their study exclusively in Qur'ānic verses. Thus knowledge of grammar was essential for the philologist who sought to understand and interpret the content of the various verses, and knowledge of the meanings of the verses was essential for the grammarian who sought to determine the function and hence the case-ending *'rāb* of the words in each verse. There was also the fact that certain techniques used by one group would be used by the other group. A good example of this is the principle of analogy, *qiyās*, which was first used by the early exegetes of the Qur'ān from whom it was adopted by the philologists and then was later adopted by the grammarians (as-Sa'dī 1973:102 ff).

The techniques followed by the earlier grammarians were not without problems. It is fairly well-documented that the earlier grammarians chose as the object of their study not a single dialect but a number of dialects. The tribes concerned are the seven tribes of Qurayš, Qays, Tamīm, 'Asad, Hudayl, Kināna, and Tayy.²

¹ See for example the new series published by the Arabic Language Institute, University of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia entitled: *al-'Arabiyya li-l-ḥayāt*.

² Cf. Hassān 1979:14 ff.

Reform Efforts: Past and Present

Attempts at reforming and eliminating unnecessary and complicated details from Arabic grammar are by no means the product of the revival movement of the nineteenth century alone.³ Indeed, such efforts began in the early years of the eighth century, shortly after the publication of Sībawayhi's (d. 180 A.H.) *al-Kitāb*, the earliest and most complete presentation of Arabic grammar. We can thus refute professor Stetkevych's thesis (Stetkevych 1970:79), that dissatisfaction with Arabic grammar and attempts at reforming it are recent. Examination of the work of the early grammarians of the Basran and Kufan schools shows that a good number of the rules established by Sībawayhi and the first generation of grammarians have been the subject of scrutiny and refinement by subsequent scholars. Examples of such scholars are al-'Aḥḥaṣ al-'Aṣaṭ (d. 211 A.H.) and al-Mubarrid (d. 285 A.H.) of the Basran school and al-Kisāṭ (d. 189 A.H.) and al-Farrā' (d. 207 A.H.) of the Kufan school. We will not consider the views of these earlier scholars, but would rather focus on the views of those scholars who presented an integrated and full-fledged proposal for the reform of Arabic grammar. This will include Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī of the sixth century A.H. and two reformers of the present century. This will be understood to be a representative number of scholars and by no means a comprehensive or exhaustive one.

Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī (d. 592 A.H.):

The thrust of al-Qurṭubī's thesis was *nazariyyat al-ʿāmil* (the theory of grammatical government) and the problems that have arisen as a result of the adoption of this theory. There is no doubt that one of the most important treatises criticizing some of the basic tenets of traditional grammatical presentation, *ar-Radd ʿalā n-nuḥāt* (Response to the Grammarians), was written as early as the last quarter of the 6/13 century. This text was written by Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī of Cordova and discovered, restored and edited in 1947 by the Egyptian scholar, Ṣawqī Ḍayf. The greater part of this book, an invaluable forerunner of the reform movement of the twentieth century, is devoted to attacking and refuting the theory of grammatical government (*nazariyyat al-ʿāmil*), attributing to this theory the bulk of the problems which Arabic grammar manifests. al-Qurṭubī maintains that case endings are semantic manifestations created by the speaker himself, and that preoccupation with *nazariyyat al-ʿāmil* has led grammarians to reject correct styles and sentences.

As mentioned earlier, the target of the bulk of al-Qurṭubī's criticism is *nazariyyat al-ʿāmil*, the backbone of Arabic grammar, which he points out as the root of all the problems that have plagued Arabic grammar. In the introduction to the book he writes:

My purpose in writing this book is to eliminate from Arabic grammar that which the grammarian can do without, to point out the errors which they (the grammarians) have committed such as claiming that the accusative, and

³ See Stetkevych 1970:79. Professor Stetkevych maintains that calls for simplification of Arabic grammatical presentation are recent.

genitive case-endings (of nouns) as well as the jussive and subjunctive moods (of verbs) are triggered only by governing words *'āmil lafẓī* in the same sentence and that the nominative case-ending (of nouns) and indicative mood (of verbs) are triggered only by semantic government *'āmil ma'nawī*. In his book *al-Ḥaṣṣā'is* Ibn ʿĪnī, following a statement on governing words *'āmil lafẓī* and semantic government *'āmil ma'nawī* writes "In effect and in truth, effecting such case-endings and moods as nominative, accusative, genitive and indicative, jussive and subjunctive respectively belongs to the speaker himself and nothing else." (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 18).

Dissatisfaction with the traditional theory of grammatical government was by no means new at the time of al-Qurṭubī. What is interesting about al-Qurṭubī's treatise is the amount of detail, thoroughness and exhaustiveness which characterize his refutation of this theory. He goes into great lengths in presenting one argument after another to undermine the very foundation of the theory as represented by the question of *'rāb* (desinential inflections) and the vowels it employs *ḥarakāt 'rābiyya*. Thus the classification of words in a given sentence as *'awāmil* (governing words) which govern other words *ma'mūlāt* (governed words) is "invalid, intellectually and legally" (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 19). Elaborating on the reasoning behind this view, al-Qurṭubī (*Radd* 19) writes:

One such reason is the condition that the doer *fā'il* exist whenever the action is carried out. However, *'rāb* (assignment of desinential inflections) takes place after the doer is no longer there. Thus in *'inna zaydan ...*, the noun *zaydan* assumes the accusative case only after the particle *inna* has disappeared.

al-Qurṭubī further explains that the action of the doer *fā'il* or *'āmil* is carried out through the exercise of one's will as is done by humans or animals or by the effect of the constitution of doer as in the case of the action brought about by such elements as water and fire. Governing words *'āmil* or *fā'il* "are not actual doers as the grammarians claim" (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 20). To imagine then that such governing words are *'awāmil* "is mere illusion" (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 20). al-Qurṭubī then dismisses the assumption that "imagining that such governing words *'awāmil* exist may have the advantage of facilitating Arabic grammar and making it easier to learn". This, he says, "makes Arabic speech appear deficient and less articulate as it forces us to imagine deletions and assumptions which the (early) Arabs did not intend when they spoke".

al-Qurṭubī takes exception with what the early grammarians had called the deletion of the governing words *'awāmil maḥḍifa*. He points out three types of deletions. These include deletions which the speaker is aware of such as the deletion of the verb *darastu* (I studied) in a response to the question *māḍā darasta l-yawma?* (what did you study today?) to which the addressee would say *al-'arabiyyata* (Arabic) rather than *darastu l-'arabiyyata* (I studied Arabic). The second type of deletion is that which al-Qurṭubī calls 'unnecessary' as in *'a-zaydan qarabtahu* (Zayd, did you hit him?). Here the grammarians would maintain that originally the sentence contained another verb which occurred before the noun *zaydan* in the sentence, but that the first verb was deleted. Thus in their reinterpretation *ta'wīl* of what would appear to be a simple and spontaneous sentence, the grammarians would maintain that originally the sentence must have been *qarabt zaydan qarabtahu* (hit + Zayd + hit + you +

him), or else how would it be possible to explain the assignment of the accusative case to the noun *zaydan*. Certainly, according to their rules, it could not have been the second verb since for this verb to govern the noun it must precede and not follow that noun. This is again another complication entailed by the rule that maintains that a governing word may not be preceded by the word it governs, hence the need for the grammarians to look outside the sentence for a 'deleted' word which could fill the function of *ʿāmil* and govern the *ma'mūl* in the sentence, namely the noun *zaydan*. al-Qurṭubī blames this 'far-fetched' complication on the philosophical belief on the part of the grammarians that every phenomenon (a case-ending,...etc.) must have been caused by some kind of agent or doer. The rule goes *kulla manṣūb lā budda lahu min nāṣib*. al-Qurṭubī would reject these reinterpretations as "illusionary" dictated only by the rule and not by the intention of the speaker" (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 21). The third type of deletion is described by al-Qurṭubī as even more rigid and superfluous. Such deletions are so far-fetched and unthinkable that were they to be added to the sentence or clause in question the meaning would be changed. Thus the grammarians maintain that simple vocative sentences of the type *yā 'ahmad* (Ahmad!) were originally such that the vocative noun was the direct object of a verb and that verb had been deleted. The deleted verb is the verb *ad'ū* '*ahmada* (I call Ahmad). al-Qurṭubī rejects this as 'bad judgement' on the part of the grammarians as it creates problems which make the grammar even more complicated. As al-Qurṭubī explains, one such problem is the fact that adding the verb *ad'ū* would in fact change the sentence from vocative to declarative. al-Qurṭubī adds that this problem could have serious consequences as it will lead the grammarian to add words and meanings which the speaker had not intended. He further adds that is particularly so with reference to the holy Qur'ān.

Another problem which al-Qurṭubī points out has to do with the grammarians' reinterpretation of sentences in which prepositional phrases occur as predicates *ḥabar* as in *zaydun fī d-dār* (Zayd is in the house), part of a relative clause *šila* as in *ra'aytu llaḍī fī d-dār* (I was that who is in the house), adjectives *šifa* as in *marartu bi-raḡulin min Qurayš* (I passed by a man from Qurayš) or part of a circumstantial clause *hal* as in *ra'ā zaydun al-hilāla fī s-samā* (Zayd saw the moon in the sky). For each of these occurrences of the prepositional phrase, the grammarians assume the existence of a deletion, namely a governing word *ʿawāmil* to which these prepositional phrases are attached. The deleted words are *mustaqirun* (situated, positioned), *istaqarra* (was situated, positioned), *kā'inun* (to be, Nom.) and *kā'inan* (to be, Acc.) respectively. These governing words are further classified as *zāhir* (explicit) as in *zaydun qā'imun fī d-dār* (Zayd is situated/positioned in the house) and *muḍmar* (implicit) as in *zaydun fī d-dār* (Zaydun is in the house). al-Qurṭubī attributes these complications to the rule that stipulates that every case-ending must be caused by a governing word, whether such word is explicit or implicit. Had the grammarians not bound themselves with the theory "they would not have had to resort to these reinterpretations" (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 24). All the sentences mentioned here are "all complete sentences which express the speaker's complete idea" and hence there is no "need for any *ta'wīl* reinterpretation." "Such reinterpretations", says al-Qurṭubī, "Are the creation of the grammarians and therefore belong to them. It is therefore necessary that we abolish such reinterpretations and the theory of grammatical government which entails them" (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 25).

Another area of Arabic grammatical presentations which al-Qurṭubī criticizes as an entailment of *naẓariyyat al-ʿāmil* is the chapter entitled *Bāb at-tanāzuʿ fī l-ʿamal* (The Chapter on the Rivalry Among Governing Words). An important concept of the theory of grammatical government, this chapter examines the problems that arise when two governing words *ʿāmilan* jointly govern one the same word *maʿmūl* in a given sentence. Here the grammarians would use the term *tanāzuʿ* which has in Arabic the basic meaning 'rivalry, dispute, contest' with the implication that there is some type of 'rivalry', as it were, between the two governing words over one and the same word in the sentence. Given the rules of the theory of government, such a situation is unthinkable. If such a situation occurs, it must be reinterpreted in such a way as would show that such an occurrence does not contradict the rule. The overriding consideration here is to protect the integrity of the rule. The problem with such an approach is that the grammarian may find himself rejecting sentences uttered by articulate speakers or trying to reinterpret such sentences to protect the rule. This raises the question of whether it serves any purpose for the grammarian to start his examination by trying to apply the rule he has at hand rather than by examining the data he has by trying to construct a rule that would accommodate the greater bulk of his data. According to the rules of the chapter on *tanāzuʿ*, sentences of the type *ḥaḍara wa-darasa kullu ṭ-ṭullāb* are not acceptable as they show two governing words *ʿawāmīl*, in this case the two verbs *ḥaḍara* and *darasa* operating on one and the same word, namely, the subject *ṭullāb*.⁴ As it stands, this sentence violates the rules of the grammar and is therefore judged as unacceptable. In order for this sentence to be acceptable it must be reinterpreted so as to allow only one of the two verbs it has to operate on the subject. To reinterpret this sentence, the Kufan grammarians would allow only the second one to operate on the subject, the reason being its proximity to the subject. According to both schools, the other verb, the one excluded from operation on the subject, must be reinterpreted in such a way as would make it the governing word *ʿāmil* of an 'implied' subject. Hence, according to the Kufan grammarians a reinterpreted version of this sentence would be as follows (i.e. only the first verb operates on the subject): *ḥaḍara wa-darasū 'hum' aṭ-ṭullāb*. The first verb *ḥaḍara* precedes and thus operates on the explicit subject *aṭ-ṭullāb* while the second verb *darasū* operates on the 'implied' subject *hum*. Conversely, according to the Basran grammarians, a reinterpreted version of this sentence would be as follows (i.e. only the second verb operates on the subject): *ḥaḍanū 'hum' wa-darasa aṭ-ṭullāb*. The second verb *darasa* precedes and thus operates on the subject *aṭ-ṭullāb* while the first verb *ḥaḍanū* precedes and operates on the 'implied' subject *hum*. As al-Qurṭubī indicates, adherence to this theory, while it has added an immeasurable amount of detail and complication to Arabic grammar, has led the grammarians to reject valid and grammatical sentences and to create instead strange and awkward sentences which can only found in grammar manuals.

al-Qurṭubī examines other elements of *naẓariyyat al-ʿāmil* and the problems it has entailed. One such element is what has traditionally been termed *Bāb al-iṣṭigāl*. Examples of this point is the occurrence of a governed word *maʿmūl* in a position

⁴ as-Strāfi, *Aḥbār* Question No. 368. as-Strāfi tells us that al-Farrā' considers both verbs in this type of sentence to be operating on the subject. See also al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 108, fn. of Dayf.

where it is not immediately preceded by the word which governs it *'āmil*, as when the direct object precedes the verb as in *'a-'aliyyan ra'aytahu?* (Ali, did you see him?) or *'a-'anta, 'aliyyan ra'aytahu?* (You, Ali, did you see him?) and as a result a pronoun suffix referring to the object must be added to the verb. al-Qurṭubī reviews the tremendous amount of detail and philosophical arguments involved in this chapter such as the form of the verb in this type of sentence and whether the verb is the predicate *ḥabar* or otherwise; if otherwise, the verb can be in the imperative, *'amr*, negative imperative *nahy*, interrogative *istifhām*, exclamatory *ta'aḡḡub*,...etc. The case-ending on the noun in each one of these sentences is determined in accordance with the form of the verb in each. Thus in the imperative and negative imperative the noun must be in the accusative case, even though it may take the nominative case (al-Qurṭubī, *Radd* 118). The type of pronoun attached to the verb also affects the case-ending on the noun. So, if the pronoun is a subject pronoun *ḍamīr raf'*, the initial noun will be in the nominative case. However, it may happen that a sentence will have two pronoun suffixes, a subject pronoun *ḍamīr raf'* and an object pronoun *ḍamīr naṣb* in which case the noun can take either the nominative or the accusative cases. al-Qurṭubī remarks that the grammarians list hundreds of cases and examples reflecting various possibilities of deletions and how each one of these affects the case-endings in the sentence. What he finds amazing is that the great majority of such sentences are not taken from actual speech, but rather invented by the grammarians to demonstrate the applicability of the rule. The pedagogical or practical value of such detail and complication is called into question by al-Qurṭubī (*Radd* 127) as he remarks:

Overdetailing these imaginary and unpractical issues is unnecessary for those who believe that only actual and practical issues should be considered.

al-Qurṭubī also notes the cumbersome tasks the grammarians set themselves in presenting a chapter of this nature, their classification of what should be in the nominative or accusative case-endings, and what may possibly take both case-endings. He also notes that the greater part of these discussions is based on "deletions which have no existence in the speaker's intention" (al-Qurṭubī *Radd* 29). Rather, says al-Qurṭubī (*Radd* 29), "it is the analogies and rules of the grammar which determine such deletions and require us to follow them".

Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā

Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā's *'Ihyā' an-naḥw* (The Revival of Grammar), first published in 1937, was the first entire book devoted to the subject of reforming Arabic grammar in the twentieth century. The book was hailed by many scholars as a landmark in the Arabic grammar reform movement. Although there were those who were critical of the book, those who praised it maintained that Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā said what they had wanted to say but were not forthcoming enough to do so. It was not possible in the 1930's to publish a book containing such strong and controversial views on Arabic grammar without risking a confrontation with conservative scholars and writers who did not share the author's views. In his foreword to the book, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, one of the most prominent Arab scholars and educators of the twentieth century, writes:

This book does not portray the frame of mind of the author alone, but portrays my mental framework as well...I don't think I will be mistaken if I said that a great many people will resent the book, and may attack it; this is so because the book is new in its form and essence, and it therefore disagrees with many long-established concepts, and it may change a great many of such concepts (Muṣṭafā 1959:H).

Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā advocates a new approach to the grammar which would make it more accessible and easily learned. In the course of his critique, Muṣṭafā raises a number of important questions regarding some of the fundamental and long-established areas of the traditional presentation of Arabic grammar. He also calls attention to the difficulties and complexities that have become symptomatic of Arabic grammar and which have rendered the learning of the grammar an unrealistically exacting task. The elimination of these hindrances can make the study of Arabic grammar "more rewarding and purposeful" (Muṣṭafā 1959:D). Muṣṭafā is particularly critical of what he saw as lack of adequate and accurate understanding on the part of those engaged in the field of grammar. Thus Muṣṭafā (1959:1) notes that:

They believed that the ultimate goal of the grammar was to determinate the case endings *ʾrāb* fore each word as well as the rules governing such case endings. This was so much so that some scholars called grammar "the science of case endings"...This is a severe limitation of the scope of grammatical study. Grammar as we see it should be concerned with the rules governing the composition of speech, the position of a word in the sentence, and the combination of a sentence with another sentence to express a complete meaning.

Muṣṭafā takes exception with what appears in traditional grammar to be the tendency to place too much emphasis on the case-endings of the final letter of a word and the grammarians' focus on the single word, rather than on the total meaning of all the words in a sentence. The meaning a word has in isolation may not be identical with the meaning "it has when combined with other words in one sentence" (Muṣṭafā 1959:2). Muṣṭafā explains that his understanding of grammar is that it is the system which governs the composition of sentences. He writes (Muṣṭafā 1959:2):

The rules governing the arrangement of words into sentences in a given language are cultivated in the disposition and talent of its speakers; once such rules have been discovered and documented they will then constitute the grammar of that language.

Muṣṭafā emphasizes the existence of a system which governs the composition of words and the arrangement of those words into phrases or sentences. Without knowledge of such a system, understanding how a given language will not be possible even if we knew the meaning and structure of its individual words. Thus, Muṣṭafā (1959:2) remarks:

If you were presented with a sentence from a language which you do not know, and if each of the various words in that sentence was explained to you, that would still not be adequate for you to understand the total meaning of that sentence. In order for you to understand the total meaning of that sentence, it will be necessary to know the system of that language, the system whereby it composes its words and sentences, for that system would constitute the grammar of that language.

Muṣṭafā further argues (1959:2) that there are languages which do not exhibit any inflectional patterns, yet such languages have "grammars and detailed rules which explain the method of word and sentence composition". Muṣṭafā is referring here to natural languages in which the end of the word does not change from one position in the sentence to another, but whose grammars adequately explain how words are put together to form meaningful sentences.

Muṣṭafā attempts to distinguish between the discipline which deals with the placement of diacritical marks at the end of words *ʾr-rāb* and the grammar discipline which deals with the arrangement of words into sentences and of sentences into larger units of discourse. He argues that Arab grammarians have severely "restricted the domain of grammar by limiting their concern to word endings and the rules governing them" (Muṣṭafā 1959:3). Muṣṭafā maintains that such areas as the types of sentences, negative, emphasis, inversion, among others, were briefly touched upon by the grammarians without careful study except "as much as they related to *ʾr-rāb* and its rules, thus missing significant areas of the Arabic language, its philology and styles" (Muṣṭafā 1959:3). The thrust of his critique here is that *ʾr-rāb* was so much emphasized that other areas of the grammar appeared as though they were there only to explain the assignment of case-endings.

Perhaps one of the most innovative proposal in the book is the one in which he gives his own account of the function of the short vowels, *fatḥa*, *ḍamma* and *kasra*. The short vowels should be viewed, not as the effect of the governing words *ʾawāmil* in the sentence, but as being there to convey certain meanings. This approach will eliminate a highly intricate area of the grammar, and will reduce significantly the difficulty and complexity of Arabic grammar. In explaining his theory on the function of the short vowels in Arabic, Muṣṭafā rejects the view of some orientalist, notably Wright and Brockelmann, concerning case-endings.⁵ These Orientalists maintain that the case-endings, i.e. *fatḥa*, *ḍamma*, and *kasra*, were originally part of affixes that were connected to words in Semitic languages; then the affixes were dropped but the case-endings remained (Muṣṭafā 1959:43 ff). Muṣṭafā perceives the case-endings, not as appendages that were left behind after the suffix was dropped,⁶ but as devices conveying certain meanings. Muṣṭafā believes that it would be easier to teach case endings and thus increase reading comprehension if the endings were viewed as semantic rather than syntactic devices.

In this semantic approach to the short vowels, *al-ḥarakāt al-ʾr-rābiyya* in Arabic, Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā draws attention to the striking consistency that distinguishes the function of these short vowels. The *ḍamma*, the marker of the nominative case, is invariably assigned to nouns when these nouns are in an *ʾisnād* position, i.e. when they constitute the topic or central theme of the proposition. This is always the case when the noun occurs as the subject of an equational sentence i.e. *muḥtadaʾ*, the subject of an active verb, i.e. *fāʾil* or the subject of a passive verb *al-mutaḥaddaṭ ʾanhu*. Thus in each of the three sentences below, the noun *ad-darsu* is the central theme and is therefore assigned the nominative case:

⁵ The terms short vowels, *ḍamma*, *fatḥa*, and *kasra* as well as the term case-ending will be used somewhat synonymously in this text for ease of reference.

⁶ This is the view of the Orientalists referred to in the earlier sentence. Cf. Muṣṭafā 1959:43.

- *ad-darsu sahlun* (The lesson is easy)
- *intahā d-darsu* (The lesson ended)
- *kutiba d-darsu* (The lesson was written)

The theme in each one of these sentences revolves around the nominative noun *al-ism al-marfūʿ*; the other elements in the sentence, the predicate adjective *sahlun*, the active verb *intahā*, and the passive verb *kutiba* provide information about that noun. Thus a noun chosen as the central theme of a sentence will invariably be assigned the nominative case. Muṣṭafā then would see the assignment of the case-ending as initiated in the speaker's mind together with the thought-processing. A speaker decides that the central theme of his utterance will be a certain noun, so he utters that noun with the nominative case.

The *kasra* (marker of the genitive case) on the other hand, indicates that the noun which carries it is combined with the preceding word in an '*idāfa* construction, i.e. the noun itself is *muḍāf 'ilayhi*.⁷ As the term indicates in Arabic, '*idāfa* refers to the placement side by side of two nouns the first one of which (here the order is from right to left) is the one known as *muḍāf* (added, related) and takes the nominative case, while the second one is known as *muḍāf 'ilayhi* (added or related to) and takes the genitive case *kasra*. The semantic relationship between the two nouns is one of 'possession' or 'belonging', the first noun being the noun which belongs to or is possessed by the second noun. The *kasra* (genitive case) then signals that a given noun is in an '*idāfa* position, i.e. it is combined with the preceding noun to form a semantic unit. Thus in the sentence, *hunā baytu l-mudarrisi* (here is the teacher's house), the noun *al-mudarrisi* is *muḍāf 'ilayhi* (i.e. the noun to which the preceding noun is related/added), while *baytu* is the noun that is being related to the second noun. The *kasra* then is to be viewed as a semantic device which the speaker uses to convey the concept of '*idāfa* (i.e. association with, belonging to, possession,...etc.). The *fatha* (marker of the accusative case) is not a legitimate short vowel *ḥaraka 'irābiyya* according to Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā since it does not have the semantic property which the *ḍamma* and *kasra* have. It is "the easier and favourable movement to the Arabs" (Muṣṭafā 1959:79). Muṣṭafā goes to the great lengths in citing evidence to demonstrate that the *fatha* is not only easier to produce in terms of its production and articulation but that it also is used considerably more frequently than the other two movements. So, in Muṣṭafā's grammar the two legitimate movements *ḥarakāt 'irābiyya* are the *ḍamma* and the *kasra*. These two movements should be viewed not as manifestations or effects of any other word in the sentence, i.e. '*awāmil*, but as devices triggered by the semantic content of the speaker's message.⁸ Muṣṭafā then would see the assignment of the case-ending as initiated in the speaker's mind together with the thought-processing. A speaker decides that the central theme of his utterance will be a certain noun, so he utters that noun with the nominative case. By the same token, the *kasra*, the marker for the genitive case, will be triggered if a noun is to be combined with a preceding noun in the same sentence so that the two

⁷ This is an Arabic construction which covers both compound noun and genitive constructions as in 'City Hall' and 'John's Car', respectively.

⁸ Muṣṭafā 1959:79. See the sections on *ḍamma* and *kasra* p. 53, 72 ff.

nouns can form a semantic unit in which the first noun the *muḍāf* is assigned the *ḍamma* while the second noun the *muḍāf 'ilayhi* is assigned the *kasra*. The most important point in this approach is the association that must be created between the short vowels and the meaning intended by the speaker. This will require the Arabic language teacher to explain to his students such concepts as *'isnād* and to train thoroughly in cultivating the association in their minds between the short vowels and meaning.

Fu'ād Tarzī

Fu'ād Tarzī, evincing a thorough understanding of the problems of teaching Arabic grammar in his text, *Fī sabīl taysīr al-'arabiyya wa-tahdīqihā* (Towards Simplification and Modernization of Arabic), which was published in 1973, twenty years after Frayha's book, also attributed the problems involved in the learning and teaching of Arabic to the very complex and archaic nature of the traditional presentations of Arabic grammar. He called for simplifying the description and presentation of the standard written language *fushḥā* so that it could be easily learned, become more and more popular and eventually replace the colloquial dialects, thus eliminating the linguistic dichotomy in the Arabic-speaking world (Tarzī 1973:4). In calling for the simplification of the description of Arabic grammar, Tarzī, like Frayha and others, exceeded the goal he set for himself, namely the simplification of the presentation of grammar, in attempting to reform the language itself.

Tarzī based his goal for simplifying the presentation of the Arabic language on the following principles: 1) the need for Arabic linguistic theory to be consistent with modern theory, thus the concepts and terminologies used in describing Arabic would be familiar to the learner; 2) the need to narrow the gap between the written language and everyday speech; this, notes Tarzī, would make the transition less drastic and the learning process less tedious; 3) elimination of differences among dialects, especially with respect to vocabulary items, their meanings, derivations, and syntactic features; 4) elimination of differences of opinions among the grammarians regarding the presentation of the grammar rules; 5) making the presentation of the grammar more flexible through a greater use of the principle of analogy and the elimination of rare and archaic forms, and 6) improvement of the Arabic script to reflect the spoken language and pronunciation more effectively.

The general objections Tarzī raises about Arabic grammatical presentations as they were written several centuries ago and as they remain today, include the use of a large number of rules and subrules; the inclusion in the grammatical presentation of different usages and forms as a result of the multiplicity of dialects during the first and second centuries A.H. (7/8 centuries A.D.) when the grammar was written; the differences among the grammarians, especially those of the Kufan and Basran schools; the use of the 'Government Theory' (*naẓariyyat al-'āmil*), as well as case endings in the description and presentation of Arabic grammar.

More relevant to our topic, some of Tarzī's most interesting recommendations concern the way Arabic grammar is presented to the learner. For example, traditional presentations of Arabic grammar classify speech into nouns, verbs and particles. The chief problems Tarzī sees in this classification are the existence of words that cannot be placed in any one of these categories, necessitating the invention of a new

category; the incorporation in some of these categories of forms that do not belong there (e.g., pronouns, adjectives and adverbs in the category of the noun), and lack of proper delineation of the categories of speech. An example of such loose definitions of speech categories, notes Tarzī, is found in the definition of the noun as "that which takes nunation, the definite article, or can occur in 'idāfa" (al-Farrā' as quoted in Ibn Fāris, *Fiḥ* 83), whereas there are many instances of nouns occurring without nunation, the definite article, or 'idāfa.

Other equally relevant areas of grammatical presentations in which Tarzī cites the need for simplification include the verbal noun, the dual system of nouns, and the broken plurals. The Form I basic verb *fa'ala* has over thirty patterns for deriving verbal nouns, whereas other Semitic languages possess no more than one or two patterns for such derivations (Tarzī 1973:31). Furthermore, many Form I basic verbs have more than one verbal noun as a result of the different dialects. For example, the verbal noun of the verb *makaṭa* (to stay) can be *makt*, *mukt*, *mikt*, *makāt*, *mukūt*, or *muktān*.

Tarzī observes that the dual system of the noun in its comprehensive form exists only in Arabic of all Semitic languages. Other Semitic languages use the dual system, generally only in reference to bipartite parts of the body. For example, in Ethiopic, the dual is seldom used (Wright 1890:149); the dual is used only referring to bipartite body parts in Aramaic (Rosenthal 1961:31-32), and in Hebrew the dual is used for bipartite body parts, and is used for a small number of words which have two parts, such as scissors (*misparayim*). In Arabic, the dual is applicable to all nouns and has two case endings represented by differences in spelling: the nominative by *-āni* and the genitive/accusative represented by *-ayni*. Although Tarzī feels that the dual in Arabic is "conducive to accuracy of expression" (Tarzī 1973:33), he finds the two different forms confusing and recommends that the use of the dual be confined to the form ending in *-ayni*, the form used in all other Semitic languages. Since the *-ayni* ending for the dual is also the ending used in spoken Arabic, Tarzī contends that this change would also bring the written language closer to the spoken language.

Discussing the basis for his proposals for a simplification of the presentation of the plural system of Arabic, Tarzī considers the broken plural to be a remnant of a primitive stage of the language, preceding the adoption of the principle of analogy, and notes that other Semitic languages, with the exception of Ethiopic, do not have the broken plural (i.e., nouns that form the plural through internal vocalic change). Tarzī argues that the multiplicity of broken plurals for a single noun in Arabic is a burden on the student; for example, the noun *qaws* can have the broken plurals *qisīyy*, *qusiyy*, *'aqwās*, *qiyās*, *'aqwus*, or *'aqyās*. In addition to the number of possible broken plurals for one noun, there are also other plural patterns in Arabic, including the sound plural (i.e., nouns that form the plural simply by attaching a plural morpheme to the noun without making any vocalic changes) and the feminine sound plural, and a large number of rules and subrules apply to each of these patterns.

Calling for the simplification of the presentation of the plural system in Arabic, Tarzī proposes the elimination of the non-analogical plural and subjection of all plural nouns to analogy as in other Semitic languages. Tarzī also proposes grouping masculine broken plurals with masculine sound plurals and feminine broken plurals with feminine sound plurals. He recommends a plural system involving the addition of the *-īna* suffix to the masculine singular and the *-atun* suffix to the feminine

singular. This system for the plural would be simple and predictable and, as with Tarzī's proposal for the dual, would narrow the gap between the written and the spoken language.

The proposal to drop the *ūna* sound plural form is not as drastic as it may seem. There is evidence, as Ibn 'Aqīl points out (*Ṣarḥ*, 64) in his explanations on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, that there were tribes that used only the *ūna* plural, such as the tribes of Banū Tamīm and Banū 'Āmir.

Central to our discussion on the pedagogical reform of grammatical presentations, Tarzī thoroughly addresses the problems involved in presenting the grammatical rules for verbs in Arabic, giving recommendations for the simplification of these rules. One such problem is the many past tense patterns possible for Form I verbs. For example, some verbs have either the past tense form *fa'ala* or *fa'ula* ("to do"), as in *ḡamada* or *ḡamuda* ("to be frozen"); the past tense of other verbs may be in the patterns *fa'ila* or *fa'ala*, as in *nakiba* or *nakaba* ("to distress"), and still other Form I verbs may take the pattern *fa'ila* or *fa'ula*, as in *ba'ada* or *ba'uda* ("to be distant"). Other verbs may occur either with *yā/y/* or *wāw/w/* a in *mahaytu* or *mahawtu* ("erased"), *raṭaytu* or *raṭawtu* ("eulogized"). There is even a group of Form I basic verbs that may have three different patterns, all with the same meaning, as in *bara'fa*, *bari'a*, or *baru'a* ("to excel"). Verbs in other forms may occur with or without *hamza* (glottal stop), as *'arḡa'tu* or *'arḡaytu* ("postponed") (Form IV). Tarzī contends that the presentation of these multiple patterns is rather complicated and confusing pedagogically, and he recommends that the presentation of such verb patterns rather than all uncommon and archaic forms.

With respect to the present tense (imperfect), Tarzī notes that the subject marker prefix can take *ḍamma* as in Forms II, III, and IV, but the subject marker takes *fatha* in all other basic and derived forms (i.e. Forms I, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X). Sībawayhi mentions (*Kitāb* II, 306) that all the Arabs, with the exception of the inhabitants of the Ḥiǧāz area, also used the *kasra* with subject markers of all imperfect verbs. Tarzī again proposes the solution recalling the earlier practice, which makes the written language closer to the spoken: the use of the *kasra* for the subject markers of all verbs in the imperfect. This will simplify the presentation of these verbs and make the learning process less difficult.

Equally important for our purposes here is Tarzī's call for the simplification of the presentation of imperfect verbs. Tarzī observes two groups of verbs in the imperfect which can have more than one stem vowel: verbs where a change in the stem vowel signals a change in meaning as in *ṭala'a/yalla'u* ("to ascend") and *yallu'u* ("to appear"), and verbs with two different stem vowels without any difference in meaning as in *masaka/yamsiku* or *yamsuku* ("to hold"), *raṣada/yarfuḍu* or *yarfuḍu* ("to refuse"). Tarzī proposes that the stem vowel for all verbs in the imperfect be the same vowel to facilitate learning for the student of Arabic.

Even more interesting for our purposes is Tarzī's further discussion of ways of simplifying the presentation of the various verb moods and forms. Tarzī notes that apart from the vowel movements which vary from *ḍamma* (indicative) to *fatha* (subjunctive) to *sukān* (jussive), the only difference between the subjunctive and jussive moods on the one hand and the indicative mood on the other, is the presence of the *nūn* in the five verbs (third person, dual and plural, and second person with the exception of *'anta*). Tarzī then goes on to show how the traditional grammarians

made their presentations complicated by adding certain elements to verbs, elements which they thought were part of the verb, but which Tarzī contends are not. Hence, the *nūn* mentioned above was not originally part of the verb, nor is it a vowel movement.

Tarzī then explains how the traditional presentations of Arabic grammar made the verb in Arabic look more complex than the verb in other sister languages in the Semitic family. Thus, in Syriac the verbs had one form, with the *nūn*, and in Hebrew the verbs have only one form without the *nūn*. The forms of the verb both with and without the *nūn*, notes Tarzī, were used by the ancient Semitic tribes and were then inherited by the Arab tribes. The early grammarians, attempting to distinguish between the two forms, made the form with *nūn* the expression of the indicative case, and the form without the *nūn* an indication of the subjunctive and jussive cases. However, the problem is not one of grammar, but of dialects, a problem still present in modern Arabic, where the *nūn* is currently used in the spoken language in Iraq and the Gulf area, but has disappeared from the spoken language of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and other Arab countries. For the simplification of the presentation of this area of the verb, Tarzī proposes the dropping of the *nūn* suffix altogether, and the use of only one form for the present tense: the jussive form. Through the use of the jussive form, vowel movements would also be eliminated. The advantages of Tarzī's proposal are the simple structure of the jussive case and its closeness to the spoken language, with the exception of the dual and feminine plural of the jussive, for which there is not parallel in the spoken language. Moreover, Tarzī's proposal for simplifying the presentation of this area of the grammar would have important pedagogical implications as it would facilitate the teaching of Arabic, for the students would not have to fluctuate between the indicative, subjunctive, and jussive cases.

Conclusion

The views of the above scholars by no means represent an exhaustive sampling of the efforts for simplifying Arabic grammatical presentations. However, al-Qurṭubī, Muṣṭafā, and Tarzī presented thorough and comprehensive proposals, each devoting an entire book to the subject. The sketchy and fragmented nature of the proposals presented by other scholars warrants the concentration on the efforts of these three scholars as representative of the movement.

Each of the three scholars discussed above, understood clearly the problems presented by the traditional presentations of Arabic grammar. They clearly indicated that such problems stem from the complex, philosophical and argumentative nature of such presentations. Furthermore, each one of them made it clear that his goal was to present Arabic grammar and structure in a clearer, less complicated and more integrated manner. Their views on the subject are presented here to show the extent to which their enthusiasm carried them.

Tarzī addressed problematic areas of grammatical presentations that neither Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā nor al-Qurṭubī dealt with thoroughly, including the presentation of the plural system (both sound and broken plurals) and the various patterns for presenting the perfect and imperfect forms of the verbs. The presentation of the grammatical rules involved in these areas continues to be extremely confusing and

difficult for the student of Arabic, and Tarzī's proposals, if implemented, would serve to simplify the learning process.

Since the publication of Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā's book in 1937, there does not appear to have been much progress in the implementation of reform, but awareness of the problems in the Arabic language continues to be strong as reform efforts are made. Tarzī went further than Muṣṭafā in making very specific proposals, which are more drastic in nature. The best one can hope for is to encourage trends toward uniformity in the presentation and description of the Modern Standard language.

Tarzī's proposals essentially call for flexibility in the presentation and description in the language and thus are easier to accept. We already see some signs of the flexibility advocated by Tarzī in verbs which have two different vowel patterns for the past tense, such as the patterns *fa'ila* and *fa'ula*; at some point, one pattern will disappear, and the other will become dominant. Moreover, such natural evolution has occurred in the spoken language, where verbs with more than one pattern for the past tense have dropped all but one pattern. Furthermore, Muṣṭafā and Tarzī note that the occurrence of all perfect form of the verb in colloquial with *sukūn*, as is the case with the imperfect, indicates that case endings (*ʾirāb*) are not essential for meaning. This would be the case if the word order in a sentence were fixed.

The proposals of the reformers have not as yet been implemented, and the problems involved in Arabic grammatical presentations still persist. However, those working in the field of Arabic grammar should not be discouraged from persevering in the task of reforming Arabic grammatical presentations. The number of those interested in learning Arabic continues to grow; however, the complex and philosophical nature of the description and presentation of Arabic language and grammar may not be conducive to acquiring mastery of the language in a reasonably short time. True, the time has not been propitious to fully adopt the proposals of the reformers, but the challenge remains for modern Arabic linguists and teachers to continue the reform effort to make Arabic a more pedagogically accessible language.

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LES DIVERS NOMBRES DE CONSONNES DE LA RACINE ARABE

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I. Introduction¹

En langue, un "système" est une combinatoire finie d'"entités"² - "signifiés" ou "relations" - déterminées pour lui, téléologiquement,³ en sorte qu'il puisse exister lui-même comme une entité cohérente.⁴

Il faut relever qu'une langue ne peut fonctionner en prenant en compte *dans son système* un référent extra-linguistique sauf si ce référent est une entité générale. Il semble que les seules entités générales, extra-linguistiques, qui aient été systématisées par les langues soient, dans le monde, le "temps chronologique"⁵ et, dans la physiologie de l'Homme, celles de ses capacités perceptuelles et articulatoires mises en oeuvre pour la parole.

Notamment, les faits de culture ne peuvent être pris en compte par les langues parce qu'ils sont particuliers et que l'enregistrement de ces faits particuliers excéderait les capacités des ressources de nomination propres aux langues. Ils sont donc enregistrés sous la forme de relations ou de descripteurs, par la mémoire qui ici "nomme par défaut".⁶

Le projet de toute langue humaine naturelle est de constituer les expériences humaines en une mémoire collective.

Le plan de chaque langue comprend principalement les deux structures nécessi-

¹ Le hasard peut être exclu des langues humaines naturelles soit grâce à une convention étrangère à toute organisation générale, une convention amorphe, soit grâce à une convention structurée par une organisation générale. Dans le premier cas la nomination est constituée hors système, c'est-à-dire immédiatement; et la convention qui établit entre telle entité du monde et son "nom" convenu, son image dans la langue, a, dans ces conditions, pour seul support la mémoire des hommes qui parlent cette langue. L'opération de nomination est alors, *linguistiquement*, absolue. Hors système, la première raison du choix d'un nom d'une entité particulière du monde a dû être une raison homologue à la nature de ce nom, c'est-à-dire un son. Ainsi, les noms, en arabe et en français, de la "volaille caquetante", /katkût/ et "cocotte", sont des noms absolus en ce sens qu'ils ne peuvent être intégrés dans aucun paradigme de ces langues ni en synchronie ni en diachronie. Il est évident que chacun de ces deux noms est un nom onomatopéique.

² Est une "entité" toute unité inventée par l'Homme dans l'univers de ses possibles. Cette unité est par lui, d'un même mouvement, nommée dans sa langue.

³ "On use à bon droit du jugement téléologique, du moins problématiquement, dans l'étude de la nature; mais ce n'est que pour la soumettre, suivant l'analogie avec la causalité finale, aux principes de l'observation et de la recherche sans prétendre l'expliquer par là" - Kant (1986:182).

⁴ Confer Condillac (1924:63): "Nous ne créons pas proprement des idées, nous ne faisons que combiner, par des compositions et des décompositions, celles que nous recevons par les sens. L'invention consiste à savoir faire des combinaisons neuves".

⁵ C'est le "temps chronique" d'Émile Benveniste; voir 1974:II, 67-78, chapitre paru auparavant sous forme d'article dans le numéro 51 de *Diogenes* en 1965.

⁶ Cette heureuse expression est du cinéaste Louis Mathieu de Vienne.

tées par ce projet particulier:

- un sous-système de nomination qui, à chacune des entités inventées par l'Homme dans l'univers de ses possibles, donnera un "nom" qui en sera l'image;
- un sous-système de relations entre ces images nommées qui, de leurs combinaisons, fera des descriptions des expériences humaines, des descriptions ainsi communicables à tous les Hommes d'une même langue.

De fait, il semble que les langues, dès lors que l'Homme les inventait par le même *modus operandi* par lequel il inventait le monde ⁷, aient constitué leurs images nommées, c'est-à-dire leurs "noms", comme des entités homologues aux entités du monde. Ainsi, dans le nom arabe du "chien", /kaløb/, /ø/ déclarait ce nom comme celui d'une entité linguistique intemporelle, une *res*; /a/ déclarait cette *res* comme une *res* animée; /kaløb/ était donc effectivement une certaine image du "chien".

Il semble que les langues du monde disent, *systématiquement*, non pas l'espace multidimensionnel mais le temps apparent, unidimensionnel: elles disent le temps soit par des morphèmes de temps, à l'instar du français, soit par des morphèmes aspectuels, à l'instar des grandes langues sémitiques anciennes.

La distinction entre les entités concrètes, qui sont des unités spatiales, et les entités abstraites, qui ne sont pas des unités spatiales, aurait toujours été une distinction non point linguistique mais référentielle.⁸

Les "signifiés initiaux" propres aux langues sont donc, primordialement, des significés déterminés du point de vue du temps: les *res* et les *modus*.

Les *modus* sont les entités linguistiques imaginées par l'Homme dans le temps, comme s'inscrivant dans un déroulement apparent du temps, dont le temps est l'une des composantes; exemple: "vivre".⁹

Les *res* sont les entités linguistiques imaginées par l'Homme hors du temps, comme étrangères au temps, dont le temps n'est pas une composante; exemple: "homme".

Précisément, les "objets" sont des *res* concrètes; les "idées" sont des *res* abstraites; les "actions" sont des *modus*; et les "actualisations", elles, ne sont, de par elles-mêmes, ni des *res* ni des *modus*.

Que les "actualisations" ne soient de par elles-mêmes ni *res* ni *modus* peut être saisi par le truchement des langues historiques. Ainsi les "actualisations" du français, ses "adjectifs", sont des *res*; en effet, les "adjectifs" du français sont étrangers au temps; s'ils signifiaient, de par eux-mêmes, leur relation au temps, la phrase suivante, *"Tu frappeur", serait possible; or elle ne l'est pas; seule est possible en français la phrase "Tu es frappeur", avec un verbe non spécifié sémantiquement qui n'intervient que comme une unité porteuse du temps. Par contre la phrase arabe nominale, de

⁷ Et donc, soit dit *per incidens*, sa société.

⁸ Voir Roman sous presse/a.

⁹ Dans la réalité du monde, les *res* concrètes ne sont pas étrangères au temps. Aussi les "noms" de certaines *res* disent-ils le temps. Exemple français repris de G. Mounin (1968:31-54), "Un champ sémantique: la dénomination des animaux domestique": "bélier, agneau, agnellet"; exemple de la langue biloxi repris de Cl. Hagège (1982:96): dans cette langue sioux, éteinte, l'âge était marqué aux deux premières personnes.

même sens, /ʔanta ɖarɪb-u-n/, est une phrase arabe normale parce que l'unité de nomination /ɖarɪb/ était un *modus* (*determinans*), porteur de la modalité aspectuelle de "non achèvement". Cette modalité, qui avait pour signifiant la longueur de la voyelle médiane, /i/, dénotait la relation au temps de l'expérience du monde dite par la phrase.¹⁰

Les signifiés des langues qui, après les *res* et les *modus*, ont la plus grande extension sémantique, sont les racines de leurs unités de nomination.¹¹

Les sons d'une langue humaine naturelle qui puissent être combinés pour constituer ses racines, sont ses phonèmes - consonnes et voyelles -¹² et ses syllabes, qui sont elles-mêmes des combinaisons d'un phonème voyelle et d'un ou plusieurs phonèmes consonnes.

Il y aurait donc eu trois familles linguistiques originelles dont les langues se seraient constituées sur les trois plans schématisés ci-dessous: un plan construit sur des racines de consonnes, √C, un plan construit sur des racines de voyelles, √V, un plan construit sur des racines de syllabes ou "radicaux", √S:

Plans des familles originelles des langues

Sous-Système de Nomination - Sous-Système de Communication

1.	√C	-	V
2.	√V	-	C
3.	√S	+	S ¹³

¹⁰ Puis, en raison de la persistance même signifiée par la modalité aspectuelle de "non achèvement", le *modus determinans*, /ɖarɪb/ par exemple, est apparu comme exprimé hors du temps. Cette fausse apparence a fait qu'à une certaine étape de l'évolution de la langue, l'aspect que dénotait le *modus determinans* n'a plus été reconnu: le *modus determinans* a été alors perçu comme une autre figure du nom, comme une *res*. Lorsque le *modus determinans* a été identifié comme étant une *res*, la phrase arabe: /ʔanta ɖarɪb-u-n/ = "Tu es frappeur", ou toute autre phrase arabe pareille, est apparue comme inaugurant un paradigme de phrases dont les deux constituants fondamentaux étaient non pas, normalement, une *res* et un *modus* mais deux *res*; exemple: /ʔanta maroʔ-u-n/ = "Tu [es] un homme", où la relation au temps, qui est une relation immanquable, est nécessairement impliquée. Différemment, dans les langues à temps et non à aspect, seuls les verbes peuvent réaliser le duo idéal (*res* - *modus*). De ce fait leurs phrases ont pour seul modèle celui dit de la . Dans ces langues les phrases nominales sont donc ou des phrases elliptiques, "Toi?", ou des phrases dont le deuxième des deux constituants fondamentaux est l'intonation qui les actualise *hic et nunc*: "Toi!".

¹¹ Sur le concept de racine dans la Tradition grammaticale arabe, confer Troupeau 1984.

¹² Les tons éventuels seraient portés par les voyelles de la langue qui les utiliserait; aussi ne sont-ils pas, dans l'usage, dissociables des voyelles.

¹³ Les indo-européanistes identifient certaines des désinences casuelles des langues indo-européennes comme des fonctionnels qui, perdant leur autonomie syntagmatique, auraient été raboutés aux formes auxquelles ils étaient postposés; voir Haudry (1982:13 sq): "Les morphèmes flexionnels ont deux sources: ce sont soit d'anciens lexèmes qui ont perdu une part de leur contenu lexical pour devenir des indicateurs de fonction, soit d'anciens phonèmes ou groupes de phonèmes détachés [...]. Dans plusieurs langues indo-européennes, on voit, à époque historique parfois, des postpositions renouveler la désinence casuelle ou même créer de nouveaux cas par agglutination". Au

Les plans symétriques 1. et 2. sont les deux seuls plans possibles dans le cadre d'une organisation au sein de laquelle les consonnes et les voyelles seraient, fonctionnellement, les éléments de deux sous-ensembles distincts.

Le plan 3. est le seul plan possible dans le cadre d'une organisation au sein de laquelle les consonnes et les voyelles seraient, fonctionnellement, les éléments d'un même ensemble. Mais, dans ce plan, les unités du sous-système de communication devraient être, régulièrement, des unités "libres", leur distinction des unités du sous-système de nomination étant assurée non par une différence de constitution mais par leur autonomie syntagmatique.

Chacune des trois combinaisons sur laquelle est fondé chacun de ces trois plans aurait été sélectionnée par un certain comportement de la boîte laryngienne, l'un des trois stéréotypes laryngaux possibles.

Un stéréotype laryngal tendu aurait produit des voyelles pré-glottalisées, [^hV]. Cette pré-glottalisation ne se serait pas maintenue après consonne sonore, [C], la voyelle pré-glottalisée devenant une voyelle simple: [C-^hV] > [C-V]. En raison de la simplification de [^hV], la syllabe monophonématique [^hV], son élément [^h], non conditionné, se maintenant, aurait été réinterprétée comme la syllabe biphonématique /^h-V/; la syllabe biphonématique, consonne sourde-voyelle pré-glottalisée, [C-^hV], aurait été réinterprétée comme la séquence d'une contourde post-glottalisée et d'une voyelle simple: [C-^hV] > [C'-V]. Dans ces conditions, celles des contourdes pouvant être réalisées [C']¹⁴ seront d'abord apparues comme de simples variantes, seules cinq d'entre elles, réalisées désormais, en arabe, /d, t, ʔ, s, k/, étant phonologisées.

Particulièrement, les consonnes post-glottalisées, /C'/ sont devenues des consonnes "emphatiques", [C]¹⁵.

Ces consonnes emphatiques sont toujours présentes dans les langues sémitiques.

Au terme de l'évolution qui a été supposée, le sous-système syllabique, "S", aurait perdu sa syllabe /V/, dont l'existence est très probable et sa syllabe /VC/ dont l'existence est assez probable,¹⁶ se réduisant ainsi aux deux seules syllabes /CV/ et /CVC/:

demeurant cette agglutination est en germe dans la construction des deux sous-systèmes de nomination et de communication dès lors qu'ils exploitent une même *materiæ prima*, la syllabe, les démarcations éventuellement nécessaires, pouvant être assurées par des marqueurs "supra-segmentaux". Dans le schéma ici présenté, le symbole "+" entre /S et S est pour indiquer que /S et S sont des unités "libres" c'est-à-dire syntagmatiquement autonomes.

¹⁴ Voir Roman 1981a et 1981b.

¹⁵ Voir Roman 1983:Ch. V: "Les évolutions du système phonologique de la *koinè* arabe".

¹⁶ "On sait que le type CV est beaucoup plus répandu et plus général que le type VC et que, comme règle générale, on peut dire que VC présuppose CV mais pas inversement", (Malmberg 1977:275). Selon Jakobson (1963:73): "Il existe des langues qui ne connaissent pas de syllabes à initiale vocalique et/ou de syllabes à finale consonantique, mais aucune langue n'ignore les syllabes à initiale consonantique ou les syllabes à finale vocalique".

$$\begin{aligned}
 \{C-V\} & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} = [C' \cdot V] > [C \cdot V] \\ = [C \cdot V] > [C' \cdot V] \end{array} \right. \begin{array}{l} = /C \cdot V/ \\ = /C' \cdot V/ \end{array} = \{C \cdot V\} \\
 & \quad \quad \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [C \cdot V] \\ [C' \cdot V] \end{array} \right. \begin{array}{l} = /C \cdot V/ \\ = /C' \cdot V/ \end{array} = \{C \cdot V\} \\
 \{V\} & = [\cdot V] = [\cdot V] = / \cdot V / = \{C \cdot V\} \\
 \{V-C\} & = [\cdot V \cdot C] = [\cdot V \cdot C] = / \cdot V \cdot C / = \{C \cdot V \cdot C\}
 \end{aligned}$$

II. La disjonction des consonnes et des voyelles

Un tel sous-système syllabique

$$\Sigma = \{CV, CVC\}$$

détermine dans le fonctionnement de la langue une disjonction du sous-ensemble des consonnes, $\{C\}$, et du sous-ensemble des voyelles, $\{V\}$:

$$\Sigma = \{CV, CVC\} \Rightarrow \{C\} \cap \{V\} = \emptyset^{17}$$

En effet deux séquences de syllabes $/CV/$ et $/CVC/$ ne peuvent composer les signifiants de deux unités de nomination qui, elles-mêmes, constituant une paire légitime, s'opposeraient, en bonne règle, par l'opposition simple d'une consonne et d'une voyelle; ce que montre sommairement le colonnage ci-dessous de deux séquences différentes:

$$/CV \ C \cdot CV/$$

$$/CV \cdot C \ VC/$$

dont l'opposition $/C/$ vs $/V/$ est non pas simple mais double.¹⁸

Cette disjonction, dès lors que les consonnes et les voyelles peuvent être utilisées indépendamment les unes des autres, permet l'attribution systématique de tâches différentes aux consonnes et aux voyelles. C'est ainsi que se serait trouvée constituée la structure fondamentale de la langue arabe.¹⁹

En effet la langue arabe a construit son sous-système de nomination sur des racines de consonnes, la combinatoire de ses consonnes étant plus puissante du fait de

¹⁷ Voir Roman 1981c.

¹⁸ Voir Roman 1981c.

¹⁹ Cette structure est la première structure des langues sémitiques.

leur nombre largement plus élevé, toujours, que celui de leurs voyelles.²⁰

Et elle a fondé son sous-système de communication sur ses voyelles brèves utilisées par elle comme des désinences casuelles.

III. L'organisation générale de la langue arabe

L'organisation générale de la langue arabe classique peut donc être représentée ainsi:



Quant à l'organisation symétrique, qui aurait été le fait d'un stéréotype laryngal relâché,

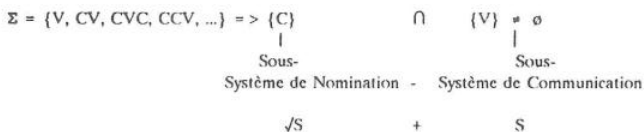
$$\sqrt{V} - C$$

l'on voit bien qu'elle implique une morphologie monosyllabique car une séquence, semblable à celle qui vient d'être donnée, des syllabes /V/ et /VC/, permettrait l'opposition interdite d'une consonne et d'une voyelle:

$$\begin{array}{c} * /V.V/ \\ /C.V/ \\ /V.C/^{22} \end{array}$$

D'autre part le relâchement de l'articulation devait favoriser le recours à l'intonation, particulièrement le recours aux tons qui est un moyen de multiplication des voyelles. Or un tel système demande des voyelles nombreuses.²³

Quant à l'organisation, qui aurait été le fait d'un stéréotype laryngal neutre,



²⁰ Inévitablement, les consonnes et les voyelles, disjointes par le sous-système syllabique, sont conjointes dans les syllabes mais les racines sélectionnent dans les syllabes les consonnes qui sont radicales.

²¹ Dans la langue arabe, dans les langues sémitiques, le sous-système de nomination et le sous-système de communication sont donc interdépendants. Selon toute apparence, cette interdépendance des deux sous-systèmes est un fait universel.

²² Voir, pour la langue chinoise, Milsky 1978.

²³ Il va sans dire que ce schéma n'est pas celui de toutes les langues à tons actuelles.

elle devait, semble-t-il, réaliser les démarcations nécessaires à une reconnaissance systématique de chaque syntagme et aussi, éventuellement, de certains de ses composants, d'abord par des moyens et encore par le recours à des procédés distributionnels.²⁴

A. Les unités fléchies de la langue arabe

Les unités de la langue arabe qui sont construites sur des racines varient par les modalités qu'elles peuvent intégrer. Ce sont ses "unités fléchies".

B. Les unités amorphes de la langue arabe

Les unités de la langue arabe qui ne sont pas construites sur des racines ne varient pas. Ce sont ses "unités amorphes".

Les unités amorphes du sous-système de nomination sont ses modalités et ses translatifs.

Les voyelles dont le système syllabique impose l'emploi ont été utilisées par la langue comme les premiers signifiants de ses modalités. Ces voyelles, qui sont des éléments constitutifs des formes auxquelles elles appartiennent, sont de ce fait les signifiants de modalités; exemples: la diathèse, le genre ...

Quant aux modalités "libres", elles ont pour signifiant au moins une syllabe, /CV/ ou /CVC/, qui est le . Exemples :les négations modales, /lam/ et /lan/, du potentiel, /law/ du réel...²⁵

IV. Les nombres de la racine arabe

A. Les racines de trois consonnes

Les "unités de nomination particulière" ont été construites, systématiquement, sur des racines de trois consonnes parce que seule la combinatoire de trois consonnes pouvait produire en nombre suffisant les arrangements constituant les racines, c'est-à-dire les premiers signifiants de leurs sens "particuliers". En effet, "N" étant le nombre de ces arrangements, "n" celui des consonnes du système phonologique, "x" celui des consonnes combinées, le nombre des racines possibles est

$$N = n^x$$

Or l'étude en diachronie lointaine des langues sémitiques montre qu'elles se sont constituées d'abord en occupant toujours davantage l'espace phonologique délimité par leurs consonnes extrêmes, bilabiales et glottales.²⁶

La langue arabe est entrée dans l'histoire avec 28 phonèmes consonnes; la langue hébraïque, quelque quinze siècles avant la langue arabe, est entrée dans l'histoire avec 23 phonèmes consonnes. Il faut admettre que dans les débuts le nombre des phonèmes consonnes a été peu important. Avec, par hypothèse, "n" = 15²⁷, à une étape donc déjà avancée de l'évolution de ces langues,

²⁴ Voir, à ce propos, les remarques de Malmberg (1977:276-8).

²⁵ Voir Roman 1987.

²⁶ Voir Roman 1983:Ch V.

²⁷ Voir Roman 1980.

$$\begin{aligned}
 N &= 15^1 = 15 \\
 N &= 15^2 = 225 \\
 N &= 15^3 = 3375 \\
 N &= 15^4 = 50625
 \end{aligned}$$

Il fallait donc bien que les phonèmes consonnes fussent combinés par trois. En effet, " N " = 15^2 = 225, est un nombre trop bas; " N " = 15^4 = 50625, est un nombre trop haut.²⁸

De la combinatoire des consonnes par trois, une représentation partielle peut être donnée qui inclue en un même sous-ensemble les six combinaisons réalisables avec trois consonnes quelconques. Chacun des sous-ensembles possibles ainsi constitués aurait donc comme étiquette les trois consonnes communes. Cette étiquette aurait ainsi joué le rôle d'une "archi-racine" qui aurait comporté un sème fondamental, commun aux six racines nées dans son. C'est l'hypothèse qu'a faite le grand grammairien arabe Ibn Ġinnī.²⁹ Mais cette hypothèse n'est pas vérifiée et elle n'est pas vraisemblable. En effet cette archi-racine échapperait à l'ordre linéaire partout exploité par la langue dans son système de nomination. Sans doute les philologues ont-ils pu découvrir des parentés sémantiques entre six combinaisons de trois consonnes radicales données. Mais c'est, selon toute vraisemblance, que des racines se sont constituées par attraction sémantique: une combinaison non encore existante étant choisie en raison de sa parenté sémantique avec une combinaison déjà existante.

De la combinatoire des consonnes par trois, une autre représentation partielle peut être donnée dans laquelle chacune des deux combinaisons possibles avec deux consonnes quelconques aurait pour image chacune des consonnes de l'ensemble des consonnes. L'ensemble de départ, constitué par les deux combinaisons de deux consonnes, pourrait également jouer le rôle d'une archi-racine. Les observations faites sur l'hypothèse précédente pourraient être répétées ici. Les parentés, peu nombreuses, qui ont pu être retrouvées n'autorisent pas davantage cette hypothèse.³⁰

²⁸ Voir Bottéro 1973:25-60. La plus ancienne des langues sémitiques connues, l'akkadien, peut donner une idée du nombre des unités de nomination créée. Bottéro, après avoir décrit (1973:41-42) les suméro-akkadiens, évalue (1973:56-7) le vocabulaire akkadien à quelque 15.000 "mots" et "c'est là un nombre ouvert". Selon Jucquois (1970-72:§6.3.1.) "En indo-européens, en se basant sur le dictionnaire de Pokorny, on trouvait 2027 racines, en hébreu [en se basant sur le dictionnaire de Davidson], le total s'élève à 2156 racines desquelles il faudrait peut-être retrancher un certain nombre de racines uniquement araméennes". Et il cite, à ce propos, cette remarque de Claude Lévi-Strauss, dans *La pensée sauvage*: "Dans l'état actuel des connaissances, le chiffre de 2000 paraît bien correspondre, comme ordre de grandeur à une sorte de seuil au voisinage duquel se situent la capacité de mémoire et le pouvoir de définition des ethno-zoologies ou ethno-botaniques fondées sur la tradition orale".

²⁹ 'Abū l-Faṭḥ Ibn Ġinnī, grammairien arabe qui a laissé une oeuvre considérable, mort à Bagdad en 392/1002, est l'inventeur de la "grande dérivation" (*al-istiḥdāq al-'akbar*): "La grande dérivation consiste à ramener à une notion commune tous les mots qui ont en commun trois consonnes radicales, quelle que soit la succession dans laquelle se présentent ces consonnes" (Méhiri 1973:252 sqq.).

³⁰ Voir, particulièrement, Moscati 1947; Fleisch 1961:252-61, qui cite et complète l'exemple de la Tradition: $\sqrt{f-l-y}$, $\sqrt{f-l-q}$, $\sqrt{f-l-g}$, $\sqrt{f-l-h}$, $\sqrt{f-l-ḡ}$, $\sqrt{f-l-ḥ}$, = "fendre"; Petráček (1984:438): "Plutôt que des ressemblances (fort douteuses) qui unissent les langues chamito-sémitiques nous nous occuperons des tendances structurales avec leurs résultats divergents manifestés dans les structures respectives dans

Au demeurant, faudrait-il encore, pour accréditer cette hypothèse, modéliser le système de nomination qui aurait été construit sur des racines de deux seules consonnes, et aussi la réformation du système sur des racines de trois consonnes.

B. Les racines d'une consonne

Néanmoins, si les unités de nomination particulière, spécifiées sémantiquement, comme celles, par exemple, dénotant la *res* /'ahl/, = "famille", de racine *v'-h-l*, ou le *modus* /walada/, = "enfanter", de racine *v-w-l-d*, devaient, en raison d'une nécessité sémantique évidente qui imposait qu'elles fussent nombreuses et différentes, être construites sur des racines de trois consonnes, les unités de nomination non spécifiées sémantiquement ou unités de nomination générale, elles peu nombreuses, pouvaient être construites sur des racines d'une seule consonne. Ces unités de nomination générale ne désignent jamais qu'un seul élément qui est soit unique - exemple: /ka/ = "te, de toi", - soit montré comme unique - exemple: /ḏā/ = "ceci",³¹ - soit encore non différencié, exemple: /mā/ = "quoi?".

C. Les racines de quatre consonnes

Lorsque de nouvelles racines se sont révélées nécessaires, le sous-système de nomination, ne pouvant tout d'abord avoir recours à des racines de quatre consonnes - leur emploi aurait bouleversé son organisation - a trouvé ses nouvelles racines dans de nouvelles consonnes venant, pour ce faire, s'ajouter au système phonologique.

Cependant, à partir du moment où le système de nomination a commencé de perdre de son importance, un certain nombre de verbes arabes, et leurs formes satellites, ont été construits secondairement sur des racines, hors système, de quatre consonnes.

Ces verbes, toujours plus nombreux, ont été inventés dans les paradigmes à modalité d'"itération" ³² qui a pour signifiant l'allongement de la seconde radicale: R_2 ³³. Le segment constitué par cette consonne allongée a été recomposé en un segment de même quantité occupé par deux consonnes différentes. D'où $vR_1R_2:R_3 > vR_1R_3R_2R_4$.

Exemples:

/faqqa'a/ > /farqa'a/	=	"craquer qqc"
/tamtama/	=	"murmurer"
/kalwara/	=	"chlorer"

Ces verbes ont la même conjugaison des verbes "triconsonantique" à modalité

chaque langue. Notre opinion est très proche de celle de G. Garbini [...]: "So I think that our aim must be not to try to find starred forms but to find the different linguistic systems".

³¹ De proto-racine *ʔt.

³² Seules les *res* sont nombrables. Aussi le nombre est-il un indice certain du caractère nominal d'une unité de nomination. En effet, un *modus*, comme il ne préexiste pas à son occurrence, est étranger au nombre. Par contre il peut être recréé, autrement dit répété, sa répétition signifiée par la modalité d'itération qui est différente de la modalité de nombre qui, elle, dénote une pluralité de *res* préexistantes, appartenant à une même classe.

³³ R_1 , R_2 , R_3 et R_4 représenteront, respectivement, la première, la deuxième, la troisième et la quatrième consonne de la racine.

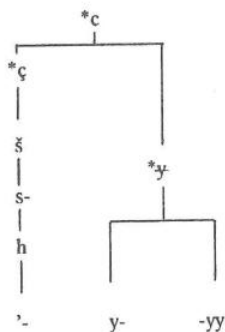
d'itération, $\sqrt{R_1 R_2 R_3}$, qui leur ont donné naissance.

V. Les emplois de la racine arabe

Le système de nomination, non seulement arabe mais sémitique, exploitait deux combinatoires: une combinatoire de consonnes radicales et une combinatoire de racines associant ou bien deux racines monoconsonantiques ou bien une racine triconsonnantique et une ou deux ou trois racines monoconsonantiques.

Cependant la combinatoire des racines entre elles imposait que les racines monoconsonantiques, \sqrt{R} , puissent être différenciées des consonnes radicales des racines triconsonnantiques, $\sqrt{R_1 R_2 R_3}$. Il semble que, pour ce faire, la langue arabe ait chaque racine monoconsonantique exclusivement dans trois séries de consonnes choisies en raison même de la capacité démarcative, c'est-à-dire d'auto-identification, que leur conféraient leurs signifiants particuliers. Ces trois séries sont: la série des transitoires à formants: $\{/w/, /y/\}$ ³⁴; la série des nasales: $\{/m/, /n/\}$; la série des occlusives non emphatiques produites à glotte fermée ou occlusives glottales: $\{/t/, /c/, /k/, /' /\}$.

Une consonne de la troisième série, l'occlusive medio-palatale sourde $/'c/$, s'est transformée en perdant, par lénition, son occlusion ou sa sourdité. L'arbre ci-après montre ses transformations successives:³⁵



Seules les consonnes de cet arbre qui sont affectées d'un tiret sont encore employées dans la langue arabe historique comme des pièces de son système.

³⁴ Une consonne transitoire est une consonne qui n'existe que par les transitions formantiques qui la relient à la voyelle centre de la syllabe à laquelle elle appartient.

³⁵ La branche sourde de cet arbre est terminée par l'occlusive glottale $/'$ qui a remplacé, à contre-courant, la constrictive $/h/$ dont elle est issue. En effet $/'$ est moins différente que $/h/$ des voyelles devant lesquelles, généralement, elle se trouve. Quant à $/yy/$, c'est la même consonne vocalique $/y/$ mais elle a été allongée pour assurer sa défense contre les conditionnements des voyelles car elle est toujours, en fin de forme, en position intervocalique; $/y/$, différemment, est toujours en début de forme.

Et comme les consonnes douées d'une capacité démarcative ne sont que huit, la langue a dû les réemployer; chacune de ces consonnes, en conséquence de leur petit nombre, a ainsi plusieurs signifiés qui sont différenciés par leurs distributions différentes.

Des divers emplois de la racine arabe, seuls quelques exemples seront cités, nécessairement en petit nombre, comme autant de signes de vraisemblance.

A. Les emplois des racines d'une consonne

1. Les *modus* construits sur une racine monoconsonantique

Il n'existe pas dans la langue de *modus* construit sur plus d'une racine monoconsonantique.

1.1 Le *modus* "être"

Originellement de racine \sqrt{c} , il a pour signifiant dans la langue historique /yy/.

Et il est toujours réalisé comme un morphème lié à une *res*. Exemple:

/kaləb - i + yy/ = "être chien" > "canin, cynique"

1.2 Le *modus* "faire"

Originellement de même racine \sqrt{c} , il a pour signifiant dans la langue historique /s/ ou /ʔ/. Et il est toujours réalisé comme un morphème lié à un *modus*.

Exemples:

/('i)stiṣḥād/ = "faire que soi-même témoigne"
/ʔiṣḥād/ = "faire témoigner"

1.3 Les *modus* d' "attestation"

Ce sont dans la langue historique:

- le morphème d' "assertion" /u/, originellement de racine \sqrt{m} . Exemple:

/ʔallāh - u/ = "Allāh".

- le morphème d' "exclamation" /a/, originellement de racine $\sqrt{ʔ}$. Exemple:

/ʔal kaləb - a/ = "Le chien!"

- le morphème d' "appel" /a/, de racine $\sqrt{ʔ}$, et ses dérivés, les morphèmes d' "appel au secours", d' "évocation", de "déploration".³⁶ Exemple:

/yā ʔamīr - u/ = "O Commandeur!"

2 Les *res* construites sur une ou deux racines monoconsonantiques

Les unités de la langue arabe construites sur une ou plus d'une racine monoconsonantique, qui dénotent des *res*, dès lors qu'elles sont des unités de nomination générale, jouent particulièrement dans la langue le rôle de pro-formes.³⁷

³⁶ Les morphèmes d' "assertion" et d' "exclamation" sont postposés. Les morphèmes d' "appel" sont antéposés. Voir Roman 1991a.

³⁷ "Pro-forme", c'est-à-dire "substitut d'une forme".

2.1 Exemples de pro-formes dénotant des *res* construites sur une seule racine monoconsonnantique

- La pro-forme, de racine \sqrt{n} , du lieu général ou, $/n/$. Cette pro-forme, le *tanwīn* de la Tradition, dénomme un lieu, donc, réel ou figuré, qui n'est pas spécifié. L'état de l'unité de nomination à laquelle elle est rabouée en fonction de "complément de nom" est déclaré par elle comme un état de "non annexion" ou "non appartenance", dit souvent état "absolu". Exemple:

$/kaləb- u + n/ =$ "chien d'on ne sait où" > "un chien"

- La pro-forme $/mā/$, = "que? quoi?", faite de $\{ /m- / \}$ où $/m/$ est la racine \sqrt{m} , de la "res générale" et $/ /$, le morphème d'interrogation³⁸.

- La pro-forme $/man/$, = "qui?", développée de $/mā/$ par l'ajout de la modalité, $/n/$, d'animéité.

- Les "personnes" et les "non personnes": $/anā/$, = "je"; $/anta/$, = "tu"³⁹; $/ka/$, = "te, de toi"; $/hu/$, = "le, de lui"; de racines, \sqrt{v} , \sqrt{t} , \sqrt{k} et \sqrt{c} ⁴⁰.

2.2 Exemples de pro-formes dénotant des *res* construites sur deux racines monoconsonnantiques

- La pro-forme de lieu, $/annā/$, = "où?", faite de $\{ /m-n- / \}$, dans laquelle $/m/$ est la racine \sqrt{m} , déjà identifiée, $/n/$ est la racine \sqrt{n} , déjà identifiée, $/ /$ est le même morphème d'interrogation.

- La pro-forme de temps $/matā/$, = "quand?", faite de $\{ /m-t- / \}$, où $/t/$ est la racine \sqrt{t} , du temps général ou pro-temps⁴¹.

B. Les emplois des racines de trois consonnes

1. Les formes dénotant des *res*⁴²

Exemples:

$/ʔahəl/ =$ "famille"

³⁸ Dans $/mā/$, = "que? quoi?", $/ā/$ est l'avatar de $*/a/$, fait de la voyelle syntagmatique $/a/$ et du signifiant, $/ /$, de l'interrogation.

³⁹ Les "pronoms indépendants" de la première personne sont construits sur la racine $\sqrt{ʔ}$. Le singulier $/anā/$ est dérivé de $*/a,n'a_1/$: $/a_1/$ est un élément prothétique; $/n/$ est le signifiant de l'animé; $/ /$ de $/a_2/$ est la racine; $/a_2/$ est une voyelle syntagmatique. Le pluriel $/naḥnu/$, = "nous", est dérivé de $*/a_1,n_1,a_2,n_2ū/$ ($< */a_1,n_1,a_2,n_2ū/$) : le deuxième $/n/$ est paradigmatique (il est en effet la "copie" du $/n/$ épenthétique de la "troisième personne" - $/humū/ < */hūnū/$ - et ici il empêche l'hiatus); $/ū/$ est le morphème du pluriel; quant à la transformation de $*/ /$ en la consonne pharyngale sourde, $/h/$, du timbre de $[a]$, elle interrompt la longue séquence de phonèmes vocaliques, séquence que la langue évite en raison de l'ouverture de ces phonèmes, incompatible avec le contraste syntagmatique tel qu'il est réalisé dans les syllabes canoniques. Les deuxième personnes sont, elles, construites sur la racine $\sqrt{ʔ}$; et les troisième personnes, sur la racine $/h/ < */c/$. L'opposition $/an.../$ vs $/ə.../$, entre les deuxième et les troisième personnes apparaît comme l'opposition [Personne] vs [Non Personne].

⁴⁰ La racine $*/c/$ est la proto-racine des "non personnes" et aussi la proto-racine du *modus* "être/faire". L'arbre de $*/c/$ unifie les pronoms personnels, dits "indépendants", et les verbes dits "factitifs" des grandes langues sémitiques anciennes.

⁴¹ $/matā/$ est la pro-forme d'un nom de temps.

⁴² Ce sont les formes de la langue arabe éventuellement représentables par des pro-formes.

/kaløb/ = "chien"

Dans la proto-langue arabe les *res* de racine triconsonnantique étaient construites sur le paradigme $R_1V_1R_2VR_3$ caractérisé comme un paradigme de *res* par l'absence de voyelle, ou voyelle "ø", entre R_2 et R_3 ⁴³. Dans ce paradigme, V_1 , entre R_1 et R_2 , était le signifiant de la modalité d'animéité ⁴⁴.

2. Les formes dénotant des *modus*

La modalité essentielle des *modus* est l'aspect, qui est une certaine traduction du temps, qui définit le déroulement intrinsèque de chaque *modus* ainsi considéré en lui-même.

Trois autres modalités étaient portées par la forme même du *modus* sans être des modalités du *modus* même ⁴⁵: la diathèse, le mode et l'agentivité.

Dans la proto-langue arabe les unités dénotant des *modus* de racine triconsonnantique étaient fondées sur le paradigme $R_1V_1R_2V_2R_3$ caractérisé comme un paradigme de *modus* par la présence de la voyelle V_2 , entre R_2 et R_3 . Dans ce paradigme, V_1 , entre R_1 et R_2 , était le signifiant de la modalité de diathèse.

La voyelle V_2 , elle, était le signifiant de la modalité d'agentivité qui surdéterminait la diathèse subjective. Ou bien le "sujet" du *modus* était sans pouvoir sur lui, ou bien il participait à la production du *modus*, soit par son action spontanée, volontaire, soit par son action provoquée, par réaction. Ainsi, dans la diathèse subjective, V_2 , entre R_2 et R_3 , était le signe de l'appartenance de la forme à l'ensemble des *modus* et le signifiant de l'agentivité. Dans la diathèse objective, comme celle-ci implique une agentivité nulle, V_2 ne servait plus qu'à dénoter l'appartenance de la forme à l'ensemble des *modus*.

Les unités dénotant des *modus* pouvaient être construites sur une ou deux ou trois ou quatre racines.

2.1 Exemple de formes dénotant des *modus* construites sur une seule racine, triconsonnantique

- Le *masdar*:

/kalab/ = "rage"

de racine triconsonnantique $\sqrt{k-l-b}$.

⁴³ Tout "nom commun" était, est à même de constituer avec la *res* \sqrt{n} de "lieu général", le *tanwîn* de la Tradition, un syntagme indéterminé. La *res* dénotée par le "nom commun" était ainsi présentée comme non localisée. Un fort bel exemple de *res* présentée comme retranchée de toute relation est le "nom commun" $\sqrt{nafs/}$, = "âme", dans les versets 81,1-14 : /'igā š-šams-u kuwwirat [...] 'alimat nafs-u-n mā 'ahḍarat/, = "Quand le soleil sera [une mante ardente] aux mille plis [...], âme saura alors ce qu'elle présente." Le "nom propre", qui est un "nom généalogique", ne pouvait être apparié à \sqrt{n} car il nommait un membre d'une communauté qui, si elle n'était pas spécifiée, était impliquée par l'absence même de \sqrt{n} . Ce sont les noms propres qui seraient à l'origine de la désinence à deux cas, $\{u/, /a/\}$, ou "diptosis", qui affecte encore certains "noms propres" et, par analogie, certains "noms communs". Voir Roman:sous presse/b.

⁴⁴ La modalité d'animéité était déjà morte quand la langue arabe est entrée dans l'histoire. Sa mort a transformé le schème $\sqrt{R_1aR_2\phi R_3/}$ en une séquence *a-systématique* de phonèmes, confiée telle quelle à la mémoire, une séquence où la racine, $\sqrt{k-l-b}$, elle-même, va s'effaçant.

⁴⁵ Ce sont en effet des modalités de la relation qui lie le *modus* à la *res* avec laquelle il est immanquablement en rapport. Voir Roman:1991b.

2.2 Exemples de formes dénotant un *modus* construites sur une racine triconsonantique et une racine monoconsonantique

- La forme du verbe

/ʾašhad-u/ = "je témoigne"

construite sur la racine, *ʾs-h-d*, du *modus* particulier "témoigner", et la racine *v'* du morphème de personne "je".

- Les formes

/mağlis/ = "lieu (public) où l'on tient séance"

/maṭlat/ = "groupe de trois"

de racine *ʾm*, de la *res* générale, et, respectivement, de racines, *ʾğ-l-s*, du *modus* particulier "tenir séance", et *ʾt-l-l*, du *modus* particulier "trois".

A l'origine, *ʾm* dénotait dans ces formes la *res* dans le cadre de laquelle était réalisé tel ou tel *modus* particulier. C'est secondairement, par glissement de sens, que ces formes sont devenues des "noms de lieu" et des "noms de temps", des *res*.

2.3 Exemple de formes dénotant un *modus* construites sur une racine triconsonantique et deux racines monoconsonantiques

- Le *masdar*:

/(ʾi)stišhād/ = "fait de témoigner de par soi-même"

construit sur la racine *ʾs* (< *ʾc) du *modus* général "faire", la racine, *ʾt*, du morphème "écho" de la *res* dont la phrase fait l'agent du *modus*, et la racine *ʾš-h-d*.

2.4 Exemple de formes dénotant un *modus* construites sur une racine triconsonantique et trois racines monoconsonantiques

- La forme du verbe

/ʾastašhid-u/ = "je fait que moi-même témoigne"

construite sur les mêmes racines *v'*, de la première personne, et *ʾš-h-d*, du *modus* particulier, la même racine *ʾt*, qui est ici l' "écho" du morphème de personne, et la même racine *ʾs* (< *ʾc) du *modus* général, "faire".

C. Les emplois des racines de quatre consonnes

Tout d'abord la langue arabe historique a utilisé modérément ce type de racine. Ainsi, le Coran a 15 verbes seulement de racine quadriconsonantique pour 1185 verbes de racine triconsonantique.⁴⁶ Cette différence des fréquences de *vCCCC* et *vCCCC* est confirmée par le *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, le dictionnaire établi par al-Ḥaṭṭī, l'admirable philologue contemporain de Sībawayhi.

Dans le nouveau type quadriconsonantique, la langue a verbalisé des *onomatopées*, exemples:

/baqbaqa/ = "glouglouter"

/našnaša/ = "produire un bruit de bouillonnement"

certaines de ses *emprunts*, exemples:

/tarğama/ = "traduire"

/ʾaqlama/ = "acclimater"

/talfana/ = "téléphoner"

⁴⁶ Ce sont les nombres donnés par Moustapha Chouémi:1966.

/hadraġa/, /darġana/ = "hydrogèner"

Exemples marocains modernes:

/ħawṣaṣa/ = "privatiser"

/dawłana/ = "étatiser"

/ʕaṣrana/ = "moderniser"

où la quatrième consonne radicale apparaît comme constitutive d'un nouveau paradigme, $\sqrt{R_1 R_2 R_3 N}$.

Originellement, les racines arabes monoconsonantiques et triconsonantiques de l'arabe avaient, en elles-mêmes et en combinaison, les signifiés ci-après:

D. Tableau I des proto-racines arabes⁴⁷

UNITES DE NOMINATION GENERALE	UNITES DE NOMINATION PARTICULIERE
<p style="text-align: center;">\sqrt{C}</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> \sqrt{C} </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \sqrt{C} + \sqrt{C} </div> </div> <p>RES GÉNÉRALES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non spécifiée - spécifiée: * temps * personne * non personne <p>MODUS GENERAL:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * être * faire * attester 	<p style="text-align: center;">\sqrt{CCC}</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> $\sqrt{CC\emptyset C}$ + A </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \sqrt{CCVC} + A </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \sqrt{CCVC} + $\alpha\sqrt{C}$ + A </div> </div> <p style="text-align: center;">RES PARTICULIERES MODUS PARTICULIERS</p>

Dans la langue arabe historique, seules sont restées vivantes les racines triconsonantiques et les racines quadriconsonantiques créées secondairement, hors système. Elles sont présentées dans le Tableau II.

⁴⁷ A est pour "affixe(s)"; S est pour "syllabe(s)"; α = 1 ou 2 ou 3.

E. Tableau II des racines arabes historiques

V⁴⁸

PRO-FORMES	FORMES
	VCCC / VCCCC <div style="text-align: center;"> </div>

VI. Les réemplois de la racine arabe

La langue arabe a encore, tout d'abord par jeu rhétorique, amalgamé des racines. Elle a ainsi produit, hors paradigme, des *res* et des *modus*.

Elle a amalgamé des racines monoconsonantiques et triconsonantiques, des racines triconsonantiques.

Exemples d'amalgame d'une racine monoconsonnantique et d'une racine triconsonnantique:

/sahīf/ = "dérisoire"

de racine *vs-h-f*, inventée dans /('i)stihfāf/, de racines *vs*, du *modus* "faire", *vt*, du morphème "écho" du "sujet", et *vh-f-f*, du *modus* particulier qui signifie "être léger"⁴⁹.

/tahida/ = "prendre qqn, qqc comme tel ou tel"

de racine *vt-h-d*, inventé dans /('i)ttihād/, de la même racine *vt*, du morphème "écho" du "sujet", et de la racine *v'-h-d*, du *modus* particulier qui signifie "prendre".

/ya'mal/ = "chameau puissant"

qui est un réemploi nominal de la forme verbale /ya'mal/, = "il agit", de racines *vy* + *v'-m-l*, où *vy*, morphème de la "troisième personne", est un avatar de **vc*.

Exemples d'amalgame de deux racines triconsonnantiques:

/ġulmūd/ = "rocher"

fait, apparemment, de deux racines dénotant, l'une la , *vg-l-d*, l'autre le "figement", *vġ-m-d*;

/ṣahṣaliq/ = "braillard"

fait des deux racines *vs-h-l*, = "hennir", et *vs-l-q*, = "pousser un grand cri"⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ L'opposition *res* vs *modus* n'est plus assurée par la langue. Elle est devenue une opposition référentielle.

⁴⁹ /('i)stihfāf/, construit pour signifier "fait de se considérer comme léger", signifie désormais, par hypallage, "fait de considérer qqn, qqc comme léger" > "mépris", "dédain".

⁵⁰ Cf. Fleisch 1968:160-163, "La composition".

VII. Les ruptures du système

Cependant l'organisation générale qui a été décrite a subi des ruptures dont seules seront présentées, comme un échantillon, certaines de celles produites par l'analogie.

De fait, l'analogie peut produire une nouvelle régularité, mais partielle et non plus générale et qui est, par là, destructrice du système.

Exemples:

- L'assimilation de la première personne du singulier du proto-paradigme de l'achevé, $^*/darab - ku/^{51}$, = "j'ai frappé", par les deuxième personnes, $^*/darab - t.../$, l'a transformée en $^*/darab - tu/$. Dans le proto-paradigme, la première personne, $/ku/$, était, conformément au système de nomination, construite sur la racine \sqrt{k} , sa voyelle $/u/$, homophone de $/k/$, n'étant qu'une voyelle syntagmatique imposée par le système syllabique. Dans le paradigme historique, le remplacement de $/k/$ par $/t/$ a fait de la voyelle $/u/$ le signifiant même de la première personne: une voyelle est ainsi devenue radicale!

- L'extension analogique du *modus operandi* de la langue par combinatoire de racines, a produit des unités de nomination composées d'une forme ou d'une pro-forme et d'une ou deux racines monoconsonantiques.

Deux combinaisons symétriques ont ainsi été produites:

i - La combinaison d'une pro-forme ou d'une forme dénotant une *res* et des racines du *modus* général, \sqrt{c} , réalisée $/yy/$, et de la *res* générale, \sqrt{m} , réalisée $/t/^{52}$.

Exemples:

$^*/anā - ni + yy/$	= "égoïste"
$^*/anā - ni + yy - a + t/$	= "égoïsme" (< "la <i>res</i> égoïste")
$^*/kaløb - i + yy/$	= "canin, cynique" (< "être chien")
$^*/kaløb - i + yy - a + t/$	= "cynisme" (< "la <i>res</i> cynique")

ii - la combinaison d'une forme dénotant un *modus* et de la racine de la *res* générale, \sqrt{m} , réalisée $/t/$.

Exemple:

$\{darīb + t\} > ^*/darībat/$ = "redevance, impôt" (< "la *res* frappeuse")

C'est là une autre rupture du système. En effet ces unités de nomination ont été créées par transformation d'une forme en un "radical", c'est-à-dire en une séquence *opacifiée* de phonèmes où les consonnes radicales elles mêmes n'ont d'identité qu'empruntée à l'histoire de la langue.

⁵¹ Cf. les paradigmes correspondants de l'akkadien : $/R_1R_2R_3ā + ku/$, $/R_1aR_2R_3ā + ta/$, $/R_1aR_2R_3 + ti/$ - et de l'éthiopien ancien : $/R_1aR_2aR_3 + kū/$, $/R_1aR_2aR_3 + ka/$, $/R_1aR_2aR_3 + kī/$. Dans certains parlars du Yémen moderne, le schème de la première personne du singulier est, selon les régions, $/R_1aR_2aR_3 + k/$ ou $/R_1aR_2aR_3 + ku/$, avec $/k/$ également; voir Diem:1973.

⁵² \sqrt{t} est ici un allophone de la *res* générale \sqrt{m} . Cette variante, $/t/$, de \sqrt{m} , aura été produite par dissimilation du *tanwīn* $/n/$; \sqrt{m} aura été ainsi forcée de la série des nasales, $\{m, n\}$, dans la série des occlusives glottales simples, $\{t, ^*/c/, /k/, /ʔ/\}$, où elle aura été captée par la consonne $/t/$ qui est la consonne de cette série la plus proche de son point d'articulation.

VIII. Conclusion

Il a été relevé que les seules entités générales, extra-linguistiques, qui aient été systématisées par les langues semblaient avoir été, dans le monde, le "temps chronologique", et, dans la nature de l'Homme, celles de ses capacités mises en oeuvre pour la parole.

La parole ainsi mise en oeuvre est, par une nécessité physique, toujours intonnée. En conséquence, l'intonation omniprésente, s'est posée en concurrente de certaines modalités. De fait, elle a, dans la langue arabe moderne, pris la place des fonctionnels non spécifiés sémantiquement qui sont pourtant les fonctionnels fondamentaux de la langue, ses fonctionnels désinences "V", et la place de certaines modalités, notamment l'appel et l'interrogation.

Exemples:

/ḍarab-ta zayd-a-n/⁵³ > /ḍarab-ta zayd/ = "Tu as frappé Zayd"
où le fonctionnel désinence /a/ s'est effacé devant l'intonation progressive.

"O Zayd!" = /yā zayd/ > /zayd/ = "Zayd!"
où la modalité d'appel, /yā/, faite de phonèmes, a cédé la place à une modalité faite d'intonèmes.

Cependant la chute des voyelles désinences a souvent produit des syllabes anomaes. Exemple repris:

/ḍarab-ta zayd/ = "Tu as frappé Zayd"
où /zayd/ est réalisé CVCC.

Or le système syllabique d'où est née la langue arabe ne comptait que les deux syllabes /CV/ et /CVC/. Toute modification de ce système, comme elle abolit la disjonction des deux sous-ensembles des consonnes, {C}, et des voyelles, {V}, détruit la base même de l'organisation de la langue arabe.

Au demeurant, la langue arabe, dans sa nomination des entités du monde, signifiait, globalement, par la racine, vCCC, les traits particuliers à la morphologie de chacune d'elles et elle signifiait, jadis, au moyen de modalités créées expressément, les seuls traits génériques: l' "animéité" et le "sexe" pour les *res*, l'aspect pour les *modus*.

Très remarquable est la disproportion entre ce que le système de nomination peut dire détaillément et ce qu'il dit globalement.

Autrement dit, très remarquable est l'extension extrême de l'opération de réduction des *res* et des *modus* du monde que réalise la langue dans son opération de nomination.

L'évolution des langues suit la pente de cette réduction sémantique.

D'autre part tout néologisme introduit dans la langue arabe, soit par création originale, soit par emprunt, s'il ne peut être reconstruit sur une racine, prend place parmi les unités amorphes, dans une nouvelle catégorie *ad hoc* où il retrouve les onomatopées qui sont la traduction phonologique et syllabique de bruits du monde restés dans la langue comme des éléments hors système, des éléments intrus. Inmanquablement cette nouvelle catégorie d'unités amorphes concurrence la catégorie des unités de nomination de la langue, constituées, conformément à son système,

⁵³ Ou, avec la réalisation pausale classique: /ḍarab-ta zayd-ā/.

sur des racines de consonnes. L'on voit bien qu'il y a là l'émergence d'un autre système de nomination construit, lui, sur des racines de syllabes.

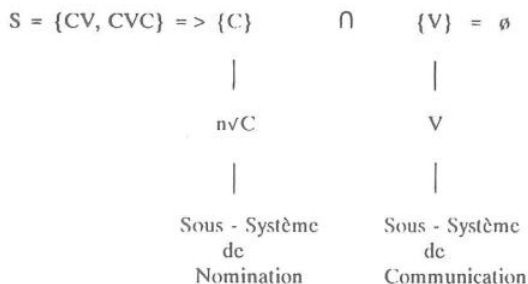
Si, en outre, la forme syllabique du néologisme est étrangère, c'est alors le système syllabique qui sera lui-même atteint. Exemple:

/i.li.k.trūn/ = "é.lec.tron"

Or plusieurs des syllabes étrangères à l'arabe n'apparaissent pas étrangères aux Arabes. En effet, leurs langues maternelles, qui sont les langues régionales du monde arabe, ses "dialectes", ont des systèmes syllabiques fort proches du système syllabique des langues occidentales.

Les perturbations profondes entraînées dans chacune de ces langues par l'accroissement de son système syllabique sont manifestes. Aucune de ces langues n'a le système syllabique de l'arabe et aucune d'elles n'a son système de communication⁵⁴.

L'organisation générale de la langue arabe, telle qu'elle est ici "inventée" en diachronie lointaine,



a dû être également celle des autres langues sémitiques.

En effet:

- Si la constitution des systèmes de nomination des langues sémitiques sur des racines de consonnes a bien eu pour cause la distribution des consonnes et des voyelles constatée dans la langue arabe, alors cette distribution a été commune à toutes les langues sémitiques.

- Si cette distribution a eu pour conséquence la spécialisation des rôles des consonnes et des voyelles constatée dans l'arabe, alors cette spécialisation et le système de communication, fondé sur les voyelles, qu'elle implique, ont été communs, immanquablement, à toutes les langues sémitiques.⁵⁵

Ainsi la langue arabe apparaît dans l'histoire comme le dernier témoin reconnaissable des langues sémitiques.

⁵⁴ Les voyelles désinentielles ont dans ces langues effectivement disparu; en conséquence, l'ordre et l'intonation y jouent un rôle désormais important.

⁵⁵ Voir Roman:1991c.

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THE SEMANTIC FIELD OF COLOURS IN ARABIC¹

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In memory of J.F.P. Hopkins
A scholar, teacher and a friend

During my constant exploration of the Arabic dictionaries, I have come across many semantic phenomena with which most Arabists are perhaps familiar but which have generally been ignored or received little attention by scholars. The semantic field of colours in Arabic is one of these areas, although a few important works, such as Fischer's (1965) have been devoted to this subject.

The Arabic words denoting colours may, morphologically speaking, be divided into three main categories:

a) those which are formed by the pattern 'af'alu, like

'abyad - white, 'aswad - black, 'asfar - yellow,
'ahdar - green, 'azraq - blue, 'asmar - grey, etc.

To this group one may add colours associated mainly with the body of man or animals such as:

'ahwar - having eyes with a marked contrast of white and black
'ashal - having bluish-black eyes
'asqar - having blonde or ginger/red hair
'arqat and 'abqa' - speckled, spotted
'ablaq - piebald
'agarr - having a blaze (horse)

and many more.

b) Colours which consist of Arabic nouns to which the yā' *an-nisba* has been added.

This, of course, allows, in principle, a countless number of possibilities. For example:

ramādī - grey, from ramād - ashes
samā'ī or samāwī - sky blue, azure
bunnī - coffee coloured, brown
ḡahabī - golden
fiddī - silvery
'asālī - honey-coloured
ḥinṭī - wheat-coloured
kuḥlī - dark blue, navy blue

c) Foreign words which entered the Arabic lexicon in various stages usually in order to fill a gap. They basically denote shades not distinguished earlier by Arabic speakers, e.g.:

¹ This article is a revised version of the paper presented at this Colloquium. Unfortunately, both versions were prepared in a great hurry and, therefore, some references known to the author have not been consulted (e.g. Fischer 1965). The author is hoping to prepare in the near future a more comprehensive study of this topic.

<i>wardī</i>	-	pink
<i>banafsaḡī</i>	-	violet
<i>samānḡūnī/samānḡūnī</i>	-	sky blue, azure (the Arabic equivalent is <i>samā'ī/samāwī</i>)
<i>burtuqālī</i>	-	orange
<i>'urḡuwānī</i>	-	maroon
<i>qirmizī</i>	-	red
<i>ḡawn</i>	-	white or black intermixed with red;

from here *ḡawna* one of the words for the sun, because, according to Lane, it becomes black or of a blackish colour tinged with red at setting.

Etymologically speaking, Arabic colours, at least in early or classical Arabic, prove the common theory about the development of colours in all languages. That is to say, the names of colours were limited and more general at the beginning, and gradually became more specific. Thus, early or classical Arabic usually refers to a limited number of colours, mainly based on the pattern *'affalu* which, in itself, represents a later development whereby most colours are formed by analogy in accordance with this mould.

However, perhaps the most striking fact regarding colours in classical Arabic is that most of them refer to more than one colour or shade. It is, therefore, evident that only at a later stage specific colour was associated with, or better to say, was confined to a certain word.² Thus, if in classical Arabic *'ahmar* means red, brown and white at a later stage its meaning was restricted to 'red'. *'ahdar* meant first green, dark, brownish and intensely black (like in the expressions *iḥḍarra l-layl* or *iḥḍarra šāribuhu* - the night or his moustache became black) but later it was confined to denote 'green' only. *'azraq* means, in classical Arabic, blue, azure, grey, greenish, and even white (like in the saying *zariqat 'aynuhu nahwī* - his eye turned towards me so that the white thereof appeared), but in a later stage it was understood to mean 'blue' only.

The reason for the colours being determined to denote a certain shade may be in that the colours became associated more and more with a certain object or objects for which the colours became modifiers, e.g. sky, sun, plants, etc. subsequently confining the colour to one specific word. However, it would be impossible to establish when exactly this process, which may be called the 'crystallisation of meanings' did, in fact, take place.

Exploration of the dictionaries shows also that the meanings for colours have developed, in the majority of the cases from homonyms or polysemic roots. Thus, the root *ḥ-m-r* has in addition to 'red' or 'redness' other derivatives such as:

- ḥamara* - to peel, to remove hair from the body, to suffer indigestion from eating barely and to become stupid. The last meaning is probably associated with the characters of *ḥimār* 'donkey'.
- 'ahmara* - to have a white child born to him or her, i.e. *walad 'ahmar*.
- 'ahmaru* - meaning 'white' can also be found in contrast to black in the idioms: *bu'ittu 'ilā l-'ahmari wa-l-'aswadi* - I have been sent to the

² For comparison purposes the etymology of 'green' in English is linked with that of 'yellow' and the colour 'blue' is also linked with 'black' (Cf. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language).

white and black peoples; or *'atānī kullu 'aswada minhum wa-'ahmara* - every Arab of them and a foreigner came to me; and *al-'ahmar wa-l-'abyaḍ* - the Arabs and the foreigners.

The root also gave birth to nouns such as *ḥumayra* 'measles', *yaḥmūr* 'fallow deer' and *ḥimār* 'donkey' and also to verbs such as *ḥammara* 'to roast'.

The root *ṣ-f-r* means, in addition to yellow, to whistle, whereas the root *z-r-q* also means to cast, to throw. The root *s-w-d* means also to rule, prevail, from which the word *sayyid* 'chief, master, lord' is derived.

Hence, since in some cases, no connection between the various meanings exists, we may assume that the roots are polysemic or homonymic. However, the distinction between the colours which had occurred already in classical Arabic has been retained in Modern Arabic, as well as the dialects. Perhaps the only example in modern Arabic of one word which still denotes two different colours is the word *'aṣṣar* which, in classical Arabic, meant 'intensely red' but which means today a blonde and ginger or red-headed.

To emphasize the intensity of the colours Arabic usually uses the word *gāmiq* for 'dark' and *fāṭiḥ* for 'light'. However, classical Arabic has special adjectives for each colour utilised to denote dark shades, with the exception of blue and grey. Thus dark red is *'ahmar qānī* or *'ahmar qānīn*; dark yellow is *'aṣfar fāqī*; dark green is *'aḥḍar yānī* or *'aḥḍar nāḍir*; dark black is *'aswad ḥālik* or *'aswad qātim* and pure white is *'abyaḍ nāṣī*.

Though I have not been able to find any explanation for the fact that *'azraq* and *'asmar* have no adjectives to express their intensity, a cursory look at the 'basic' meanings of the roots reveals that the roots refer to something negative, bodily defect or bad luck. Thus, we find that most of the words which mean 'blue' or 'grey' denote 'blindness': *zariqa* - was or became blind, whereas *kaḥala* and *samara* like *samala* mean to blind someone. *kuḥl* means also 'drought', 'barrenness' and 'hard year', whereas *kuḥayl* means 'tar'. Moreover, the words *nīla* and *munayyal* which denote 'blue', 'indigo' also mean, in certain dialects, a disaster or curse.³ Furthermore, since the word *zurq* appears in the Q 20,102 also in the sense of 'blindness': *wa-naḥṣuru l-muḡrimīna yawma'īdīn zurqan* 'we shall assemble the sinners on that day when they are blind' the reservation shown in Arabic towards the blue and grey may be understood, especially, if we add to this the superstition that the *gūl* is said to have blue eyes.⁴

Incidentally, it is not surprising that blue, grey and black, may carry negative connotations, since they sometimes symbolise in many cultures melancholy, disasters, mourning or death (e.g. blue devils, the blues, be black and blue, to go into black). Similarly, in the folklore of various cultures 'green' and 'yellow' usually denote 'envy'

³ See Badawi-Hinds 1986:495, root N.Y.L.₂.

⁴ See Rodwell's translation of Q. 20,102, fn. 3. "The Arabians have a great aversion to blue and grey eyes as characteristic of their enemies the Greeks". See also e.g. Amīn (1953: 299) the entry *gūl*, in which this belief is recited and attested by a poem of an unknown poet. I am also most grateful to Professor Kees Versteegh for drawing my attention to Muḥammad al-Kalbi, *Taṣṣiṭ al-Qur'ān*, MS Chester Beatty no. 4224 ff, ad Q. 55,41 where it says: *yū'rafu l-muḡrimīna bi-sūndhum: al-muṣrikīna bi-sawḍ wuḡṭhihim wa-zurqat 'a'yūnīhim* (the sinners are known for their features: the polytheists with their black face and blue eyes); identical statement in Muḡātil, *Taṣṣiṭ* IV, 201.6-7.

or 'jealousy' ('the green-eyed god'), whereas 'white' in the Chinese culture symbolises mourning and death.

Nevertheless, we do find that Arabic may have contexts in which blue, grey and even black carry positive meanings; for example, a girl who is described as *samrā*⁵ is usually taken to be beautiful, whereas a person who has *'aynāni sawdāwāni* or *'aynāni zarqāwāni* is regarded as handsome, and *'ayn kahilā* is an eye that is black either by nature or by applying *kuhl* to it. It would perhaps be worth mentioning in this context that 'green' is the favourite colour among many Muslims following the Hadith which tells us that it was the Prophet's most favourite colour.

The importance of colours in Arabic may be demonstrated by the fact that Arabic has devoted three verb forms, out of its sixteen or so, to colours. Thus, *if'alla*, *if'alla* and sometimes *if'aw'ala* denote that something has become or turned into the colour expressed by the root e.g. *iḥmarra* to become red, *iḥdārra* to become green, *izrawraqa* to become blue. The fact that most of the colours fit neatly these patterns suggests a late morpho-semantic development based on analogy, especially since other patterns such as *fa'ala* or *fa'ila* and *fa'ula* also occur in classical Arabic, e.g. *ḥadira* - to become green, and *ḥamira*, *ḥamura* - to become red.

So far as usage is concerned, colours in Arabic are used, apart from their basic denotations, as epithets, euphemisms and in idioms. As epithets, colours may usually refer to places, if they are in the singular, or to items or objects, if they are in the dual. Thus the epithet of Tunis is *al-ḥadrā*⁶; the city of Aleppo is *aš-šahbā*⁷; in Granada we find *al-ḥamrā*⁸; whereas Casablanca is *ad-dār al-bayḍā*⁹. These epithets may be used solely in reference to the place they describe without the proper name, through a process of elision which occurs with other nouns and adjectives.

Colours in the dual are rare and usually refer to two items expressed by one word, e.g. *al-aḥmarānī* are flesh and wine, *al-asfarānī* are gold and saffron, and *al-'abyadānī* are water and milk.

Opposite colours, usually *white* are used as euphemisms, e.g.

'abū l-bayḍā - the black man

'abū l-ḡawn - the white man

yawm 'abyaḍ - catastrophe

ḥabar 'abyaḍ - in some dialects usually means 'bad news', 'disaster'.⁵

Other colours may also be used euphemistically, e.g. *al-hawā l-aḥmar* is sexual intercourse, or *as-sarāya š-šafra*⁶ is an insane asylum, and *al-mawt al-aḥmar* is a massacre.

Colours may also appear in some idioms, where the colour is usually used as a metaphor, e.g. *'atā/qadā 'alā l-aḥḍar wa-l-yābis* - to destroy completely. The word *aḥḍar* refers here to all plants; *lam yusā'idnā li-zurqī/li-sawādi 'a'yūninā* - he did not help us for our blue/black eyes (but for a good reason). This idiom is undoubtedly a loan translation into Arabic.

To sum up this paper, we may conclude that the colours in Arabic have acquired their meanings through a process which may be described as 'synecdochical', that is to say, from the general meaning of a colour or a group of colours to a specific one.

⁵ See e.g. Badawi-Hinds 1986:116, entry *'abyaḍ*.

Intensity of colours is mainly expressed in classical Arabic by special modifiers, whereas in modern Arabic the word *ġāmiq* 'dark' is more common. There are no, however, special modifiers to express light colours.

Arabic has also borrowed names for colours from foreign languages, mainly Persian. Those quite often, were not required, since Arabic had already had a similar colour, e.g. *'urġuwānī* which is not different from *'ahmar qānin/qāni* or *samanġūnī* which has an Arabic equivalent *samā'ī/samāwī*.

Finally, the colours of Arabic have a special importance which is reflected by their usages in daily expressions and idioms, to the extent that even in a simple daily greeting some Arabic dialects prefer the expression *'ēš lōnak* 'what is your colour?', i.e. how are you? to the expression *kayfa ḥāluk* or *zayyak* which are commonly used by other dialects.

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LA CONTRIBUTION MAROCAINE A LA GRAMMAIRE ARABE
(500-1332/1106-1912)
ETUDE ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE

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Le but de ce rapport n'est guère de chercher des réponses à une ou plusieurs problématiques grammaticales. Il ne vise guère non plus à présenter une bibliographie complète et définitive de toute la production grammaticale arabo-marocaine. Mais il cherche, avant tout, à susciter l'attention des chercheurs sur une école de grammaire qui est toujours négligée, et noter d'une manière préliminaire certains de ses caractéristiques essentiels, afin de pouvoir dégager les traits d'une réflexion linguistique qui avarié duré huit siècles, et qui avait essayé, en collaboration avec l'école andalouse, de concilier les résultats, souvent opposés, de la pensée grammaticale orientale arabe d'une part, et assimiler la grammaire à la pédagogie classique d'une autre part.

Il est toujours certain qu'il est encore, faute d'études académiques sérieuses, tôt pour développer des thèses sur la grammaire marocaine, et qu'il est encore tôt pour pouvoir définir son propre image.

Un fait essentiel est à signaler au début, il s'agit de l'entrée tardive des grammairiens marocains au champs des études grammaticales. Certes, les marocains n'ont commencé à y réfléchir qu'au VI/XII siècle. Or, à cette époque si lointaine, le grammaire arabe, et en Orient et en Espagne, avait déjà établi ses méthodes et pris son ou ses orientations. Parallèlement, non loin du Maroc, et notamment en Andalousie qui était au VI/XII siècle une simple "province" annexée au Maroc, les grammairiens andalous avaient réussi à développer leur propre tendance. Les oeuvres d'Ibn at-Ṭarāwa, Ibn Harūf ou Ibn Mālik en sont témoins. Cette entrée tardive marocaine sur la scène de la grammaire avait dû caractériser certainement toute la production marocaine et s'y refléter.

Le grammairien marocain le plus ancien duquel on connaît une oeuvre est le fameux 'Abū Mūsā 'Isā b. Yilbaht al-Ġazūlī (m. 607/1210), auteur de la célèbre "*al-Ġazāliyya*", alias *al-Qanūn* et *al-Kurāsa*. C'est grâce à ses efforts que la linguistique classique marocaine avait vu le jour, et se développa par la suite. Son oeuvre eût la chance d'être commentée autant en Andalousie qu'en Orient arabe. Postérieurement, plusieurs grammairiens devinrent illustres par leurs oeuvres. Citons, à titre d'exemple, les noms d'Ibn 'Āgurrūm, al-Makūdī, Ibn at-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣarqī et Ibn al-Hāgg as-Sulamī, noms qui restèrent jusqu'à une époque si récente une autorité scientifique en la matière au Maroc, et même en Egypte. Pendant huit siècles alors, la grammaire marocaine n'avait cessé d'accumuler connaissance et réflexion importants.

Mais un problème capital se pose évidemment aux chercheurs: Y-a-t-il vraiment "une école marocaine" en grammaire arabe, comme nous prétendons, ou bien les marocains se contentèrent-ils de répéter et reproduire inconsciemment ce qui avait déjà démontré et travaillé par les autres? Y-a-t-il une spécificité dans cette accumulation marocaine de textes? Répondre à cette question n'est pas si évident,

vu la spécificité de l'expérience historique intellectuelle d'une part, et les problèmes techniques de la recherche dans ce domaine d'une autre part. Nous allons commencer par essayer de traiter de ces problèmes techniques d'abord.

Les problèmes techniques:

Un simple regard sur la bibliographie présentée comme corpus élémentaire aux chercheurs suffit pour remarquer qu'un bon nombre de titres sont considérés, jusqu'à maintenant, comme étant perdus ou anonymes. Mais, dans les pays comme le Maroc où les bibliothèques des manuscrits privées abondent, et les fonds des bibliothèques générales sont jusqu'à maintenant mal explorés, voire mal archivés, il n'est pas rare, avec un certain effort de recherche, ou un peu de chance, de tomber sur des textes précieux desquels auparavant on ne savait que les titres. L'expérience parallèle des historiens et critiques confirme cette remarque.

Par ailleurs, un autre bon nombre de titres sont des manuscrits qui attendent d'être travaillés et analysés. L'accès à ces textes n'est pas toujours facile lorsqu'ils sont privés.

Un autre bon nombre de titres sont édités d'une manière mauvaise ou antique. C'est le cas des textes lithographiés à Fès au siècle dernier. Notons aussi que, jusqu'à maintenant, aucun texte de grammaire marocaine n'a été publié d'une manière critique.

Le résultat de ce phénomène consiste, par conséquent, au fait que la grammaire marocaine est restée jusqu'à maintenant, un champs quasi fermé, et difficilement accessible aux chercheurs. Par conséquence, essayer de dévoiler les aspects de cette accumulation de huit siècles de réflexion grammaticale, reste un projet encore prématuré. Mais les problèmes techniques ne doivent pas toujours nous empêcher de projeter la lumière sur cette grammaire, et noter quelques phénomènes de base pour pouvoir faciliter la tâche aux chercheurs, et essayer de noter quelques remarques sur la réflexion grammaticale marocaine. En voici quelques uns:

a. La grammaire marocaine, vu son retard historique, n'a jamais contribué à l'établissement de la grammaire classique arabe. Seules les écoles de Kufa et de Basra qui eurent cet honneur, ce qui implique que la théorie grammaticale arabe arrive au Maroc à une époque où l'on ne discutait plus la méthodologie ou les fondements de base, mais où l'on discutait des problèmes moins capitaux.

b. La grammaire marocaine a vu le jour au Maroc, dans une époque où l'islamisation du pays fût à peine terminée d'une manière définitive, et où l'arabisation du peuple commençait à peine, et où la science marocaine en générale commençait à apparaître, science qui est née mûre, et qui n'a connu les étapes d'évolution comme en Orient arabe.

c. La réflexion grammaticale marocaine vit son développement dans ce qu'appellent les européens le bas moyen âge, époque généralement considérée comme une époque de décadence, et de blocus de la pensée, par rapport à "l'âge d'or" de la civilisation arabe. Appelée époque de décadence, la tendance générale des chercheurs néglige le fait que la réflexion linguistique arabe n'a jamais cessé de vivre après l'âge d'or (IV/X siècle), et qu'il n'est pas rare de trouver dans cette époque des thèses audacieuses, qu'il est peut-être utile de les comparer aux nouvelles tendances de la linguistique moderne.

d. Il est vrai que les grammairiens marocains n'ont jamais prétendu mettre en cause la théorie grammaticale classique. Il est vrai aussi qu'ils n'ont pas toujours

composé des oeuvres ou des chefs d'oeuvre. Mais il est vrai aussi que la pensée grammaticale des "postérieurs" (*muta'ahhirin*) n'est pas, par définition, une reproduction naïve du patrimoine lésé.

e. Un dernier fait est à remarquer. Il s'agit du nombre élevé des commentaires (*šarḥ*) et des glossaires (*ḥāšiya*). Nous pouvons tirer de la bibliographie, que nous présentons par la suite, 63 commentaires, et 33 glossaires au moins, alors qu'en global, nous avons cité 132 titres. Ce qui indique que 47,72% des titres sont des commentaires, et 25% des titres sont des glossaires. Glossaires et commentaires font 72,72% or, nous n'avons que 9 titres, en apparence, qui sont des compositions pures, soit 6,81% du total. Par conséquent, tenant compte de ces chiffres approximatifs, il est à conclure que la grammaire marocaine a souvent fourni des réflexions sur des réflexions, c'est-à-dire que la grammaire marocaine a surtout approfondi une réflexion déjà établie par des auteurs antérieurs, marocains, andalous et orientaux. Les principaux ouvrages qui ont souvent attiré l'attention et l'intérêt des classiques marocains sont:

- 1 - *al-'Alfiyya* d'Ibn Mālik (m. 672/1274)
- 2 - *al-Muḡnī* d'Ibn Hišām (m. 761/1359)
- 3 - *al-Ġumal* d'az-Zaġġāġi (m. 311/923)
- 4 - *al-Muqaddima al-'Aġūmūmiyya* d'Ibn 'Āġurrūm (m. 723/1323)
- 5 - *Šarḥ al-Makūdī 'alā l-'Alfiyya* (m. 807/1404)
- 6 - *Šarḥ al-'Azharī* (m. 904/1499) 'alā l-'Aġūmūmiyya.
- 7 - *'Awdaḥ al-Masālik* d'Ibn Hišām (m. 761/1359)
(= *at-Tawḍīḥ al-Muwaḍḍiḥ*).
- 8 - *Šarḥ Bahraq* (m. 930/1524) 'alā *Lāmiyat al-'af'āl* d'Ibn Mālik
- 9 - *Lāmiyyat al-'af'āl* d'Ibn Mālik (m. 672/1274)
- 10 - *al-Bast wa-t-ta'rīf*, d'al-Makūdī (m. 807/1404)
- 11 - *Šarḥ al-Murādī* (m. 749/1349) 'alā *al-'Alfiyya*
- 12 - *al-Tashīl* d'Ibn Mālik
- 13 - *Šāfiya* d'Ibn al-Hāġib (m. 646/1248)
- 14 - *Qaṭr an-nadā* d'Ibn Hišām
- 15 - *Šuḍūr aḍ-ḍahab*, du même auteur

Quant aux principaux textes versifiés pour des raisons didactiques, il est à signaler *al-Muḡnī* d'Ibn Hišām, et son *'Awdaḥ al-masālik*, et enfin la fameuse *'Aġūmūmiyya*.

Nous espérons, par ce rapport préliminaire, avoir suscité l'attention à la production grammaticale marocaine dans le but de dévoiler sa propre spécificité, et avoir fourni une bibliographie de base pour les chercheurs.

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 e. *Šarḥ al-'Azharīyya*.
 f. *Šarḥ Šuḍūr aḡ-ḡahab*.
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Abréviations

ms	= manuscrit.
B.G.R.	= Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat.
B.R.R.	= Bibliothèque Royale de Rabat.
B.G.T.	= Bibliothèque Générale de Tétouan.
B.Q.F.	= Bibliothèque de La Qarawīyyīn à Fès.

THE METHODOLOGICAL RULES OF ARABIC GRAMMAR

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1. Introduction

Arabic Grammar (henceforth AG) contains a large number of methodological rules, called *qawā'id at-tawgīh* by Tammām Ḥassān in his well known book *'Uṣūl* (1982). Ḥassān states that, in their capacity as methodological canons, *dawābiṭ manḥaḡiyya*, the methodological rules make up what he calls the constitution (*dustūr*) of AG (ibid:209). He then goes on to say that the relationship between the methodological rules of AG and its grammatical rules is similar to the relationship between the constitution of the state and the laws that are based on it. An example of a methodological rule in AG is the statement *muḥālun 'an yakūna l-musabbabu muqaddaman 'alā s-sababi* — It is impossible for the effect to precede the cause — (Ibn al-'Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* II, 627).

Ḥassān's main interest in his discussion of the methodological rules of AG is to provide a general classification of the areas of grammar to which they apply. There is, for example, a section on the methodological rules pertaining to *samā'* (attestation / attested materials or corpus), another on *qiyās* (analogy), a third on *'aqsām al-kalim* (the parts of speech), a fourth on *ḥaḍf* (elision), etc. Our paper has a different purpose. It sets out to investigate aspects of the theoretical underpinnings of the methodological rules of AG, by considering the work of the sixth century grammarian Ibn al-'Anbārī, which came at a time in the history of AG when the main body of this discipline had assumed a fairly well defined form. My choice of Ibn al-'Anbārī's work as the immediate scope of investigation is guided by the fact that it contains a large and easily accessible body of methodological rules, expressed in more or less the same manner, particularly in his famous works *al-'Inṣāf fī Masā'il al-Ḥilāf* and *'Asrār al-'arabiyya* (henceforth *'Inṣāf* and *'Asrār*). Reference will also be made to his other works, particularly *Luma' al-'adilla fī 'uṣūl an-naḥw* (henceforth *Luma'*) to support and expand the analyses based on a close examination of the preceding two works.

2. Preliminaries

Ḥassān's statement concerning the nature of the relationship between the methodological rules, the 'constitution', and the grammatical rules, the 'laws', is worth investigating in some detail here to prepare the ground for the discussion which will follow in section 3. Let us begin by pointing out that the methodological rules of AG are twice-removed from actual speech-phenomena in their capacity as unique and, in the totality of their physical attributes, unrepeatable events. Considered from a philosophically based perspective, speech-phenomena in AG may be regarded as states-of-affairs whose existence is independent of any reports, called protocolisations here, which record the occurrence of the affairs in question. Within this context, *samā'* in AG may be viewed, at least in part, as the process of converting the speech-

phenomena, or states-of-affairs, into protocolisations by means of guided sense-experience. It is, strictly speaking, these protocolisations, not the states-of-affairs themselves, which form the data for grammatical study in AG. This dynamic sense of *samā* in AG is not always sufficiently kept distinct from the static interpretation of this term as a body of protocolisations which, with the passage of time from the inception of AG, started to assume the status of a closed, albeit large, corpus. To fix the distinction between the dynamic and static senses of *samā* conceptually and terminologically, we shall refer to the former as attestation and to the latter as corpus. The corpus is, therefore, a large, but, historically speaking, limited body of protocolisations.

We have in the previous paragraph referred to 'guided sense-experience' as, from the philosophical point of view, the source of knowledge which yields the all important corpus. The word 'guided' in this formulation is intended to suggest that attestation in AG is not carried out in an intellectual vacuum, but by reference to what may be loosely called the principle of relevance. In its most general formulation, this principle provides a specification of the sort of states-of-affairs in Arabic grammar which qualify as data for incorporation in the corpus, this being the concept of *faṣḥa* which we shall leave undefined here because it is peripheral to the main scope of this paper. What is worth emphasising, however, is that the corpus in AG is, at least in theory, intensionally restricted to the limits imposed by the principle of relevance. States-of-affairs not conforming to this principle are excluded from the scope of the corpus as, logically speaking, linguistically irrelevant, although they may be relevant from a different perspective, for example the dialectological viewpoint. By operating in this fashion, AG appears to satisfy one of the cardinal principles of Saussurean linguistics which, with great methodological justification, declares that the 'point of view creates the object'.

Description in AG involves the establishment of the finite set of rules in, not of, the language. I have said "in, not of" in the preceding sentence because this formulation is more consistent with what I believe to be the overwhelming naive-realist epistemology of AG, as will be explained later in section 3.1. In terms of this existential orientation of AG, the grammatical rules are thought to capture the inherent properties of the language, as represented in the corpus.

Qiyās (analogy) is another source of linguistic knowledge in AG. *Qiyās* is utilised as a means of establishing the grammatical rules of the language, by reducing the unfamiliar to the familiar on the basis of a set of one or more pertinent similarities between them. The entire set of rules established in this way is said to constitute the grammar of the language.

This 'reductive' sense of *qiyās* is not, however, the only one of this notion in AG. Counterbalancing it is the productive sense which refers to the generative potential of the finite set of grammatical rules to yield an infinite set of protocolisations. It is this productive sense of *qiyās* which underpins, and, ultimately, justifies, the resort to what is called *at-tamārīn ḡayr al-'amaliyya* (unnecessary exercises) in, particularly, pedagogically oriented grammars.

The general view of grammatical rules in AG revolves around the idea that they serve the function of 'regulating' speech, whether descriptively or, especially in pedagogic grammars, prescriptively. By contrast, the methodological rules of AG are meta-rules, in the sense that they are rules about rules. As such, the methodological

rules offer a guiding framework for the setting up of the grammatical rules into a body of coherent and consistent statements. Closely allied to this function of the methodological rules, is the task of providing explanations of the data in the corpus, and, by extension, of the language itself. Another important function of the methodological rules of AG is their role in the area of evaluating competing descriptions, or analyses, of, at least in theory, one and the same set of protocolisations. When applied in this evaluation capacity, the methodological rules become instruments of establishing the validity or non-validity of competing analyses. By serving in these two major capacities, the methodological rules of AG occupy a central place in this discipline.

Let us now explain the sense in which the methodological rules of AG are said to be twice-removed from the speech phenomena or states-of-affairs. We may express this by saying that the indirect relationship between the methodological rules and the speech-phenomena is mediated via the grammatical rules and the corpus in a *decreasing* scale of abstraction, when viewed from the standpoint of the rules, or an *increasing* scale of abstraction when viewed from the opposite direction. If concreteness is applied as the operative concept, then the move from the corpus to the methodological rules is one of *decreasing* concreteness, while the move in the opposite direction is one of *increasing* concreteness. This relationship is neither deductive nor inductive in the standard meanings of these terms, simply because the pair of terms 'abstract' and 'concrete' are not synonymous with 'general' and 'particular' respectively as used in deduction and induction.

The methodological rules provided by Ibn al-'Anbārī relate to a wide spectrum of grammatical rules in AG. The are invariably expressed in a concise and an unmistakably methodological vein. Some possess a greater degree of generality than others, in the sense that they cover a wider terrain of grammatical rules. A general feature of these rules is that they are not explicitly recognised as methodological in status in AG. This perhaps explains why they are not given an autonomous theoretical status in AG, as well as the fact that they are diffusely spread in Arabic grammars.

3. The Underlying Foundations of the Methodological Rules

The underlying foundations of AG are built on a small number of principles or premises. In this paper I will deal with the following principles only:

- i) Labelling
- ii) equilibrium
- iii) symmetry
- iv) priority
- v) consistency

3.1. Labelling

Labelling, i.e. the application of terms to designate grammatical categories, is an important theme in AG. In general terms, labels are devices of classification and organisation; they are also indices of identity. In addition to performing these, their primary functions, labels may serve an important heuristic function by assuming the character of mnemonic devices, which enable the participants in a particular

discipline to manipulate and recall the concepts designated by the labels concerned in an easy manner.

These general considerations of labelling provide a brief, but informative, statement of the general strategy for the choice of labels to designate grammatical categories in AG. The fact that labels in AG are regarded as devices of classification and the specification of linguistic identity is reflected in the general organisation of books on Arabic grammar into chapters, each headed by the label designating a particular grammatical category. Witness the fact that Ibn al-'Anbārī's *'Asrār* is chiefly organised in this fashion, the notable exception to this being, *inter alia*, the chapters on *'imāla* (deflection) and *'idgām* (assimilation) which, strictly speaking, are phonological processes.

The attention paid to the heuristic aspect of labels in AG may be exemplified by the well-known discussion relating to the application of the term *ism* to designate the grammatical category 'noun'. According to the Baṣran grammarians, the term *ism* emerges as a label to designate nouns in the language because of their "precedence" or "priority" over the other two parts of speech, the verb and the particle. This precedence is based on the fact that nouns, on their own, can convey self-contained messages in the language. It also emerges from the view that nouns can serve as the topic in 'topic-comment' type structures (*al-ismu yuḥḥaru bihi wa-yuḥḥaru 'anhu, wa-l-fī'lu yuḥḥaru bihi wa-lā yuḥḥaru 'anhu wa-l-ḥarfū lā yuḥḥaru bihi wa-lā yuḥḥaru 'anhu: 'Asrār 4*). Another consideration in the adoption of the label *ism* to designate nouns is said to be the fact that nouns in the language tower above the objects they denote (*ṣanā 'alā musammāh wa-'alā 'alā mā taḥtahu min ma'nāh: ibid*).

Other examples which show the heuristic function of labels as mnemonic devices in AG are the terms *ḡam'u t-taksīr* (broken plural), *al-ḥāl* (state), *'rāb* (inflectional endings) and *binā'* (non-declinability). In these, and other cases in AG, the term emerges as a label for the grammatical category because the semantic import of the term concerned corresponds to the primary linguistic feature(s) of the category it designates; for example one of the lexical meanings of the word *'rāb* is 'change' or 'alteration' the suitability of this term to the category it designates being therefore obvious. In terms of this formulation, it is the relation of appropriacy between the label and its category which captures, as well as expresses, the heuristic function of labels in AG.

However, the connection between the label and its category in AG is stronger than the relationship of correspondence stated above. More accurately expressed, this connection is one whereby the category implies, or actively gives rise to, the label in an almost causal sense. Put differently, the strategy for labelling in AG puts the category in the driving seat, in the sense that the category dictates the choice of label which designates it. Ibn al-'Anbārī (*'Asrār 11*) expresses this feature of the labelling strategy in AG by the methodological rule *yusammūna š-šay'a bi-š-šay'i 'idā kāna minhu bi-sababin*, which may be roughly translated into English as 'x is used as a name for y if y is the reason behind, or cause of, x'.

This strategy of labelling is regarded in AG as, in a sense, nothing more than an extension of the well-known phenomenon of onomatopoeia, which, broadly speaking, is based on the idea of the suitability of the signifier to the signified in the linguistic sign (*munāsabatu l-laḫẓi l-ma'nā*). The 'suitability' talked about here is generally understood in the literature in terms of a natural, not conventional or arbitrary, bond

between the signifier and the signified. This, in turn, is taken to mean that a given property, or properties, of the signified imply the form of the signifier, or that the signifier comes into linguistic existence by virtue of standing in an iconic type of relationship to the signified.

Clearly, labelling in AG is a type of naming. And onomatopoeia gives us an important clue as to the existential basis of this labelling facet of grammatical categories. Considered from this perspective, labels, as names, are thought to capture the salient inherent attributes of the categories they designate, so much so that the labels, under the most extreme interpretation, themselves become the categories. This near fusion of the label with the grammatical category is extremely interesting because it provides us with a clear indication of the realist epistemology of AG. The methodological rule of labelling *yusammūna š-šay'a bi-š-šay'i idā kanā minhu bi-sababin* is, therefore, best understood as a statement which sets out a realist strategy of labelling in AG.

I have elsewhere (Suleiman 1989) set out the main characteristic features of the type of realism most applicable to AG, naive realism. I will, however, reiterate the chief properties of this epistemological viewpoint for ease of reference here. Modifying Hopper's (1973:494) statement of the main tenets of naive realism to suit our linguistic interests, the chief properties of this epistemology may be expressed in the following points:

- 1) There exists a world of linguistic facts.
- 2) Statements about these objects can be known to be true by, in the case of AG, *samā', qiyās* and *istiḥābu l-ḥāl* (the presumption of continuity).
- 3) These objects exist independently of the linguists who set out to describe them. In modern linguistic theory, this point is expressed by Hockett who states that 'linguistic structure' refers to something existing independently of the activities of the analyst: "a language is what it is, it has the structure it has, whether studied by a linguist or not" (1967:280).
- 4) The description or analysis given by the linguist describes the structure of the language pretty much as it is. Hockett (1967:280) expresses this point by saying that the "purpose [of a linguist] in analyzing a language is not to create structure, but to determine the structure actually created by the speakers of the language".

It is not my intention here to offer a critical evaluation of the naive realist view of linguistic reality, but to determine that this epistemological position underpins the strategy of labelling in AG as expressed in the methodological rule expressed above. In terms of this epistemology, labels fuse with their categories, thus becoming part of the language as structure. We may express this point differently by saying that, in general terms, the naive realism of AG treats the label as though it was more or less the category itself, and vice versa. By almost removing the ontological distinction between the label and the category, AG loses a measure of theoretical neatness and philosophical credibility.

The naive realism of AG is also clear from its espousal of the view that empirical truth boils down to correspondence with the facts or reality. This view is explicitly expressed in *ʿAsrār* (315-27) in the chapter on the *ʿrāḥ* and *binā* of the verb. Ibn al-ʿAnbārī begins this chapter by stating that there are three verb types (tenses) of the verb in Arabic, the *māḍī* (past), *mudārī* (present) and *mustaqbal* (future). He then justifies this classification by stating (*ʿAsrār* 315) that it is implied by the division of

time into past, present and future: "al-'azminatu *ṭalāṭatun wa-lammā kānat ṭalāṭatan waḡaba 'an yakūna l-'af'alu ṭalāṭan: māḍin wa-hāḍirin wa-mustaqbalun*".

However, the facts with which the truth corresponds do not always have to be facts of a physical nature. They may also be facts of a social character. The anchoring of truth in AG in relation to social facts may be illustrated by the arrangement of the prefixes of the imperfect in the following order in terms of listing: the *hamza*, the *nūn*, the *tā'* and the *yā'*. This arrangement is said to reflect the social fact of giving preference to the speaker in the singular, followed by the plural, then the addressee and, finally, the absentee as, for example in the following verb paradigm: 'aktubu, naktubu, taktubu and yaktubu, respectively. Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses this point by saying "al-hamzatu li-l-mutakallimi wa-n-nūnu li-l-mutakallimi wa-man ma'ahu wa-t-tā'u li-l-muḥāṭabi wa-l-yā'u li-l-ḡā'ibi" ('Asrār 22). Then he adds what may be regarded as a social fact to underpin this arrangement: *wa-l-aṣlu 'an yuḥbira l-insānu 'an nafsīhi, ṭumma 'an nafsīhi wa man ma'ahu, ṭumma al-muḥāṭabi ṭumma al-ḡā'ibi* ('Asrār 24).

3.2 Equilibrium

Equilibrium, called *mu'āwala* in Arabic, is an important theme in the underlying foundations of AG. As a methodological and explanatory premise, equilibrium involves balancing the different pressures and forces within the language in a way which ensures its effectiveness and stability as a means of communication. Its most paradigmatic application occurs in connection with the two competing pressures of lightness (*istihfāf*) and heaviness (*istitqāl*) within the language, as the following example illustrates.

The standard explanation for the occurrence of the nominative with the subject (*fā'il*) and the accusative with the object (*maf'ul bihi*) is based on the idea of balancing heaviness against lightness in speech, whatever these may mean empirically. This is achieved by assigning the nominative, which is regarded as a heavy case marker, to the subject on account of its paucity (*qilla*), and as a counterbalance, the assignment of the accusative, a lighter case marker, to the object on account of its abundance (*kaṭra*). This situation in AG is expressed in 'Asrār (78) by the following underlined methodological rule: "[*bimā 'anna*] *l-fā'ila 'aḡallu minā l-maf'ūli wa-r-rafa 'atḡalu, wa-l-faṭha 'aḡaffu, [yu'tā] l-'aḡallu l-'atḡala wa-l-'akṭanu al-'aḡaffa liyakūna ṭiḡalu r-rafi muwāziyan li-qilatti al-fā'ili wa-hiffatu al-faṭhi muwāziyatan li-kaṭrati al-maf'ūli*" — ([Since] the subject is less numerous than the object, and since the nominative is heavier the accusative and the accusative is lighter than the nominative, the less numerous occurs with what is heavy and the more numerous with what is light, so that the heaviness of the nominative would be balanced by the paucity of the subject and the lightness of the accusative would compensate for the abundance of object).

Ibn al-'Anbārī deals with the theme of the equilibrium with reference to the same example in *Luma'*. He declares that the reversal of what is asserted by the above underlined methodological rule would result in the undesirable position of increasing heaviness in speech. It would also represent a departure from the course of sound wisdom (*al-ḥunūḡu 'an al-ḥikmati*: p 43). To give this methodological rule of AG more persuasive power, Ibn al-'Anbārī offers the following extra-linguistic analogy. He says that the situation in language with respect to the distribution of

heaviness and lightness in speech is similar to that involving two men, one being asked to lift a stone weighing one *mann* (a measure of weight) ten times (the object-accusative case) and the other to lift a stone weighing ten *manns* once only (the subject-nominative case) in an equitable distribution of energy and effort between them (*liyākūna qillatu al-ʿamali bi-ʾizāʾi t-tiqali wa-kaṭratu al-ʿamali bi-ʾizāʾi l-hiffati*: *ibid*). Ibn al-Anbārī declares that the reversal of this situation would constitute a serious departure from the standard of wisdom and, presumably, fairness (*wa-law ʿamarahu bi-ḥamli t-taqīli ʿašra marrātin, wa-bi-ḥamli l-ḥafīfi marratan wāḥidatan, lakāna ḡālika mubāyinan li-l-ḥikmati, li-ḡamʿihi ʿalayhi bayna t-tiqali wa-kaṭrati l-ʿamali fī ḥālin wāḥidatin, wa-bayna l-hiffati wa-qillati al-ʿamali fī ḥālin wāḥidatin*: *ibid*).

It is clear from the above discussion that AG is based on the fundamental premise of the stability of language as a system of interrelated features via the maintenance of equilibrium between the competing pressures which operate within it. However, the general tendency in the language, in terms of the psycho-physical energy required in the production and comprehension of speech, particularly the former, is seen to favour an increase in lightness and a reduction in heaviness. Ibn al-Anbārī expresses this feature of AG by the following methodological rule: *al-ḥamlu ʿalā l-ʾaḥaffi ʾawlā mina al-ḥamli ʿalā l-ʾaṭqali* (*ibid*:50-1) — (the approximation [of an entity] to a light one is more desirable than its approximation to a heavy one).

The emphasis in AG on lightness in speech suggests that this discipline subscribes to what may be called, borrowing a term from Martinet (1964), the principle of *least effort*. Stated in its most general sense, the principle of least effort boils down to saying that communication by means of language is controlled by man's "tendency to reduce to a minimum his mental and physical activity" (*ibid*:189). Martinet explains this statement of the principle of least effort by saying that "man gives of himself only so much as is necessary to attain the end he has in view" (*ibid*). "Man's inertia" (*ibid*:190), then, constitutes for Martinet the psychological basis of the principle of least effort, and it is this inertia, it seems, which lies at the heart of the idea in AG of increasing lightness and reducing heaviness in speech, whatever these notions may mean empirically.

In terms of this formulation, we may interpret *ʾaḍf* (elision) in AG as, in broad terms, a phenomenon whose ultimate aim is to increase lightness in speech. The same may also be said about *ḡazm*, the jussive. Ibn al-Anbārī expresses these interpretations of elision and the jussive by the following methodological rule: *al-ḡazmu ḥaḍfun wa-l-ḥaḍfu taḥfifun* — the jussive is elision and elision is a matter of making things light (*Inṣāf* II, 575). The idea that elision is a matter of increasing lightness in speech is generally invoked in AG to explain the phenomenon of *tarḥīn* (softening in the vocative (*ʿAsrār* 236)). However, the occurrence of elision in language is said to be subject to, *inter alia*, the principle of *ʾizālātu l-luḥsi* (the elimination of confusion), in the sense that it, i.e. elision, obtains in contexts where the elided element is marked by a feature, or features, of the situation, which mark(s) it covertly in speech. Ibn al-Anbārī expresses this property of elision by the following methodological rule: *al-ḥaḍfu fī kalāmihim li-dalālati l-ḥālī wa-kaṭrati l-istiʿmālī ʾaktara min ʾan yuḥṣā* (*Inṣāf* I, 73). It may be interesting to point out here that elision, which is a consideration of economy in language, is made possible by the fact

that language is characterised by redundancy, a feature of language that is indispensable for its proper functioning as a medium of communication.

It remains to us at the end of this brief discussion of equilibrium, and the related themes of least effort and redundancy, to explain the sense in which the subject is said to be less numerous than the object. The comparison in this formulation does not refer to the number of elements which can function as subject and object constituents in a corpus of the language, but, rather, to the number of what may be called positions of this type in the syntactic portion of the language. We may explain the point at stake here more clearly by using Tagmemics notions (Pike 1976 and Cook 1971). Considered from the perspective of this linguistic theory, the paucity of the subject is treated as one of slots, not fillers, in the sense that the syntactic description of Arabic would recognise one subject position/slot only. Similarly, the abundance of the object is one of slots, not fillers, in the sense that there would be more than one object slot in Arabic syntax. In other words, the paucity and abundance of the subject and object respectively is fixed in relation to the abstract level of structure, i.e. types of entity, rather than realisation, i.e. number of tokens of any type of entity. This boils down to saying that the number of subject and object exponents in speech does not play any determining role, at least at the level of conceptualisation, in the calculation of lightness and heaviness.

3.3 Symmetry

Symmetry in AG involves the co-occurrence, or correlation, of entities which have parallel status in terms of a given property in the language. An example of the application of symmetry as an explanatory principle in AG is the occurrence of the subject with the nominative and the object with the accusative in the language. According to one explanation the subject and the nominative are said to be bound together in the language by virtue of the fact that each member of this pair of entities is stronger than its counterpart in the construction object-accusative. Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses this feature of symmetry which obtains in certain constructions by the following methodological rule: *yu'tā l-'aḡwā l-'aḡwā wa-l-'aḡafu l-'aḡafa* ('Asrār 78) — (a strong element is assigned to a strong element and a weak element is assigned to a weak element).

The same phenomenon is given another interpretation in AG, but without departing from the theme of symmetry as an underlying premise. According to this second explanation, the nominative is said to occur with the subject by virtue of their priority over the accusative and the object respectively. With respect to the nominative, its priority over the accusative is one of heaviness over lightness. The priority of the subject over the object is of a different type, being related to the precedence of the former over the latter in the linear order or arrangement of utterances in neutral contexts. This latter situation in AG is captured by the following methodological rule: *yu'tā l-'awwalu l-'awwala wa-l-'āhiru l-'āhira*.

A third example of the application of symmetry in AG pertains to the so-called *al-'afālu l-ḥamsatu* (the five verbs). A primary feature of these verbs is their possession of a word final *n* as an exponent of the indicative mode and the subtraction of this *n* as a manifestation of the subjunctive and the jussive. AG treats the indicative as structurally prior to the subjunctive and the genitive. It also realisationally treats the occurrence of the *n* in the indicative as an *intrinsic* part of the form of the five

verbs, and its subtraction as an *extrinsic* operation applied to the indicative base form. In terms of this analysis of the structural and realisational elements involved in the five verbs, AG explains the occurrence of *n*, as part of the exponent of the indicative, as a matter of assigning what is structurally prior to what is realisationally intrinsic, and the subtraction of *n* as a manifestation of the subjunctive and the jussive as a matter of assigning what is structurally non-prior to what is realisationally extrinsic. This whole situation is summed up in the following methodological rule by Ibn al-'Anbārī: *yū'tā l-'awwalu l-'awwala wa-t-tārī'u t-tārī'a* ('Asrār 325) — (the prior element is assigned to the prior element and the non-prior element to the non-prior element).

A final example of the application of symmetry in AG is the occurrence of the first part of a compound numeral with the feminine marker *-at* when the second part of the numeral is plural masculine. Ibn al-'Anbārī explains this situation by saying that since the masculine is the base form in relation to the feminine, and since the feminine is the original state of the simple numeral, i.e. when used in isolation, and, additionally, since *-at* is the primary/base marker of the feminine in the language, it follows that the first part of the compound numeral appears in its base form with the primary feminine marker to accord with the occurrence of the second part of the numeral in its base masculine form. Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses this situation as follows: *'inna l-'aṣla fi l-'adadi 'an yakūna mu'annaṭan, wa-l-'aṣla fi l-mu'annaṭi 'an yakūna bi-l-hā'i, wa-l-mudakkari huwa l-'aṣlu fa-'ahada l-'aṣlu l-hā'a* ('Asrār 218).

3.4 Priority

Priority underlies a host of related phenomena in AG. It principally underlies the second source of linguistic knowledge in this discipline, *qiyās*: Broadly speaking, priority means the ascription of a higher status to one entity over another in relation to a specified feature. The operative term in this principle is the concept of *'aṣl* (base). There are, in AG, two main interpretations of the notion of *'aṣl*. The first interpretation is analogically oriented, in the sense that it pertains to a relationship between the *'aṣl* and a subsidiary element, *far'*, with view to establishing the basis, called *'illa*, for approximating the latter to the former. This is done by showing that the *far'* partakes in a characteristic property, called *ḥukm* (verdict), pertaining to the *'aṣl*. In its second sense it is derivationally oriented, in that it holds between a root, stem or base and a derived element through the application of a particular process or operation.

An example of the first sense of *'aṣl* obtains in the analogical relationship posited between the noun and the imperfect verb, with respect to the property of declinability (*'rāb*). In this well-known example, the *far'*, the imperfect verb, is approximated to the *'aṣl*, the noun, with respect to the *ḥukm*, i.e. declinability, by virtue of partaking in a set of one or more characteristic properties of the *'aṣl*. These characteristics include *taḥṣiṣ*, particularisation, which means that as is the case with the restriction of the simple form of the *'aṣl*, the *nakira* (indefinite), by means of the definite article, the simple form of the *far'* can be restricted by the particles indicating the future, i.e. *sa-* and *sawfa*. Another feature of the noun, which is said to form the basis for approximating the imperfect verb to it with respect to declinability is the prefixation of *lām al-ibtidā'*, the *lām* of inception, to these two word categories. A third common feature of the noun and the imperfect is the generality of their semantic imports, in

the sense that the imperfect verb can refer to the present and the future in the same way as its *'aṣl*, the noun, can exhibit polysemy.

The second concept of *'aṣl* obtains mainly in connection with the relationship between simple and complex entities, as, for example, in the relation between the singular and each of the dual and the plural, or between the masculine and the feminine. The derivational relationship between the simple (masculine) and the complex (feminine) entities in the last example above is underpinned by the methodological rule *al-mudakkaru 'ahaffu mina l-mu'annaṭi* ('*Asrār* 219). Lightness in this context is one of relative simplicity as opposed to complexity. Ibn al-'Anbārī articulates this issue through the methodological rule *al-mufradu 'aṣlun li-l-murakkabi* ('*Asrār* 302), which he applies in explaining the priority of the conjunction *wāw* over its partner conjunctions. Ibn al-'Anbārī states that the *wāw* has this status because it is semantically simple in relation to the other conjunctions: *al-wāwu lā tadullu 'alā 'aḳṭari mina l-iṣṭirāki faqat, wa-'ammā ḡayrūhā fa-tadullu 'alā l-iṣṭirāki wa-'alā ma'nān zā'idin* (ibid). On the basis of these examples and the methodological rules which apply to them, we may regard the relative simplicity of the *'aṣl* in relation to the *far'* as one of the conditions imposed on the *'aṣl* in its derivational meaning. This, of course, is obvious, but it needs to be reiterated here all the same.

A second condition of the *'aṣl* is that it is, in a general sense, less restricted than the *far'*. Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses this condition by the following methodological rule: *al-muṭlaqu 'aṣlun li-l-muqayyadī* ('*Asrār* 171), which he invokes in treating the *maṣḍar* (infinitive) as the *'aṣl* of the verb. Ibn al-'Anbārī spells out this point by saying that the *maṣḍar* refers to absolute time, whereas the verb refers to a particular time: *al-maṣḍaru yadullu 'alā zamānin muṭlaqin wa-l-fi'lu yadullu 'alā zamānin mu'ayyanin* (ibid.).

A third condition of the *'aṣl* is that it tends to be self-contained in relation to the *far'*. Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses this point by the following rule: *wa mā yakūnu muṭtaqiran 'ilā ḡayrihi wa-lā yaqūmu bi-naṣṣihi 'awlā bi-'an yakūna far'an minmā lā yakūnu muṭtaqiran 'ilā ḡayrihi* — (That which is in need of something else and cannot stand on its own is better qualified for the status of being a *far'* than that which does not require anything else).

The priority of the *'aṣl* over its *far'* is considered in AG as one of unidirectional dependence, in that the latter depends for its descriptive existence on the former. Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses this situation in the following methodological rule: *al-furū'u 'abadan tanḥaṭṭu 'an daraḡāti l-uṣūli* (ibid:60) — (The *furū'* are always below the *uṣūl* in status). Another methodological rule of priority is *al-far'u lā budda 'an yakūna fīhi l-'aṣl* (The *far'* must contain the *'aṣl*) in the sense that the former exhibits characteristic properties of the latter.

The priority of the *'aṣl* has a special status in AG in, specifically, the formulation of the sources of linguistic knowledge. The main point here is that the provision of the *'aṣl* in grammar is said to constitute a source of knowledge which is not in need of further evidential or rational support, a situation not applicable to the *far'*. Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses this position by the following methodological rule: *man tamassaka bi-l-'aṣli ḡaraḡa 'an 'uḡdati al-muṭālabati bi-d-dalīli* ('*Ingāṣ* I, 300). In AG, the reliance on the *'aṣl* as a primary source of knowledge is called *iṣṭihābu l-ḡālī* (the presumption of continuity). Ibn al-'Anbārī sets out this source of linguistic knowledge in the following methodological rule: *man tamassaka bi-l-'aṣli fa-qad*

tamassaka bi-stiṣḥābi l-ḥālī wa-man ʿadala ʿan al-ʿaṣli faqad baqiya murtahinan bi-ʿiqāmati d-dalīli ('Inṣāf II, 481 and 634). He also declares in several places in 'Inṣāf that *istiṣḥābu l-ḥālī* is one of the valid sources ('adilla) of AG, a fact he captures in the following methodological rule: *wa-stiṣḥābu l-ḥālī min al-ʿadillati al-mu'tabarati* ('Inṣāf I, 300). However, in *Luma'* (p 87) Ibn al-'Anbārī warns that *istiṣḥābu al-ḥālī* is one of the weakest sources of grammatical knowledge, which, therefore, should be discounted if evidence based on the other two sources of grammatical information, *samā'* and *qiyās*, is provided. He says (ibid): *wa-stiṣḥābu l-ḥālī min 'aḍ'afi l-'adillati, wa-li-hāḍā lā yaḡūzu t-tamassuku bihi mā wuḡida hunāka dalīlun*.

One of the issues which merits discussion in relation to the tenet of priority is the sense in which the 'aṣl is said to be prior. A formally similar concern in the history of modern linguistics may provide a useful way of approaching the issue at stake here.

In his classic article Hockett (1954) examines what he calls Item and Arrangement (abbreviated IA) and Item and Process (abbreviated IP). In terms of the first model, morphological complexity is dealt with by reference to a relationship of sequential ordering which, ideally, holds between discrete elements. The relationship in this model is one of static arrangement. By contrast, IP expresses morphological complexity by positing an item as an underlying element to which a variety of processes apply. Here, the relationship between the items in the morphological complex is a dynamic one. IP also differs from IA in that it assigns priority to the underlying form over its partners in the morphological complex. The question then arises, in this structuralist model, as to the sense in which the underlying form is said to be prior to the other constituents of a complex.

A similar type of question seems to be relevant vis-a-vis the sense in which the 'aṣl is said to be prior to the *far'* in AG. What is this priority? Is it historical? Or is it just an artifact of description, in the sense of being a fictitious construct posited by the grammarian to make possible the systematic description of data in a predetermined fashion?

We can begin our consideration of this issue by stating that the priority characteristic of the 'aṣl in AG is not historical in nature. There is no indication in AG that the 'aṣl is posited as a diachronic source of the *far'*. Within the overall structure of the language, the 'aṣl and the *far'* have the same degree of priority from the historical perspective. We can also point out that the priority of the 'aṣl in relation to the *far'* is not a fictitious hocus-pocus type of priority, simply because such a view of the existential nature of priority would be inconsistent with the predominantly realist epistemology of AG. The answer must therefore lie in treating the priority of the 'aṣl in AG as one which emerges from its being able to conform to the type of conditions, treated as tendencies, which are structurally applicable to it (see preceding discussion). We may refer to this type of priority here as structural priority.

3.5 Consistency

The principle of consistency binds together into a single thematic framework few methodological rules in AG. In modern linguistic theory consistency is universally treated as an evaluation measure, in the usual sense of being employed as a means of establishing as invalid contradictory descriptive statements of one and the same phenomenon or set of data. Consistency serves a similar function in AG, thus ulti-

mately promoting the view that language is a coherent system of non-contradictory rules. In the preceding section we have come across one methodological rule related to the principle of consistency, namely that it is not possible to have a *far'* without an '*aṣl*': [*yastahṭlu*] *wuḡṭidu l-far'i min ḡayri 'aṣlin* ('*Inṣāf* 236), for the obvious reason that the *far'* always implies the '*aṣl*'. Therefore the statement, or an explanatory argument based on the statement, that it is possible to have a *far'* without an '*aṣl*' would be self-contradictory, simply because the *far'* comes into descriptive and scientific existence by virtue of being always anchored in relation to the '*aṣl*'.

Another consistency related methodological rule states that a linguistic item cannot have a certain status and not have it at one and the same time: *aṣ-ṣay'u lā yakūnu ma'niyyan bihi muṭṭarahān* ('*Asrār* 66). Ibn al-'Anbārī invokes this methodological rule in his discussion of the fact that *zanna* and its sisters act as governing entities of their objects in the accusative in the sentence when they occur initially (*zanantu zaydan muntaliqan*), but may function in this capacity only optionally when they occur in sentence medial (*tawassut*) or sentence final (*ta'ahhur*) positions, for example *zaydun zanantu muntaliqan* or *zaydun muntaliqun zanantu* respectively. Thus any argument which states that *zanantu* and its sisters can combine in sentence initial position the function of being governing and non-governing entities at one and the same time must be declared invalid because such an argument would be inconsistent.

The methodological rule *yastahṭlu 'an yakūna ṣ-ṣay'u ṣā'ī'an maḥṣūṣan fī ḥālin wāḥidatin* ('*Inṣāf* II, 455) — (an item cannot be non-restricted (*ṣā'ī'*) and restricted (*maḥṣūṣ*) at one and the same time) — is utilised by Ibn al-'Anbārī to argue the point that a defined noun cannot be qualified by an indefinite adjective or an indefinite noun qualified by a defined adjective. The situations ruled out here are declared as inconsistent because they boil down to saying that it would be valid for one and the same item to be restricted and non-restricted at one and the same time.

An important consistency oriented methodological rule states that it is impermissible to double define an entity: *wa-ta'rīfāni fī kalimatīn lā yaḡtamī'āni* ('*Inṣāf* I, 337). Ibn al-'Anbārī exemplifies this rule by reference to the impermissibility of using the vocative particle *yā* with a defined vocative noun, for example **yā r-raḡulu* because that would be tantamount to defining the noun *ar-raḡul* twice, once by means of the definite article and the other by means of the vocative particle itself. Ibn al-'Anbārī is of course aware that sentences combining the vocative particle with a proper noun are perfectly legitimate in Arabic, for example *yā zaydu*, but he rules this situation out as a counterexample to his methodological rule by stating that a inherently proper noun loses its status of being defined in the context of the vocative *yā*: *yū'arrā 'an ta'rīfī l-'alamīyyati wa-yū'arraḡu bi-n-nidā'i* ('*Inṣāf* I, 338). Ibn al-'Anbārī states that the injunction against combining the vocative particle with a noun defined by the definite article is even more stringent than the prohibition disallowing the treatment of a proper name in the vocative as doubly defined. The reason behind this, states Ibn al-'Anbārī, is that in the example **yā r-raḡulu* both the vocative particle and the definite article are overt exponents of definition, whereas in the permissible *yā zaydu* only *yā* is an overt exponent of definition, the proper noun *zaydu* being covertly defined in isolation. Another interesting consistency related methodological rule states that the effect cannot precede the cause: *muḥḍlun 'an yakūna al-musabbabū muqaddaman 'alā s-sababi* ('*Inṣāf* II, 627). Ibn al-'Anbārī applies this rule to refute the Kūfan statement that the apodosis of the conditional

sentence may precede the protasis. Ibn al-'Anbārī starts from the view that the protasis is, in some unspecified sense, the cause of the apodosis and, therefore, must precede it. By invoking this methodological rule Ibn al-'Anbārī rejects as impermissible sentences in which the apodosis is placed before the protasis.

An interesting application of the principle of consistency in AG obtains in relation to the Kūfan view that the entities *ḥāmīl* (pregnant), *tāliq* (divorced), *ḥā'id* (menstruating), etc., of the form *fā'il*, do not overtly exhibit a formal marker of femininity. Ibn al-'Anbārī argues that since these adjectives are exclusively used to refer to females, there is therefore no need to distinguish them from masculine nouns. The methodological rule which underpins this situation in the language states that distinguishing between entities in grammar which are specific to a sub-species of a set of entities is impermissible: *al-faṣlu bayna šay'ayni lā (i)štirāka baynahumā bi-ḥālin muḥālun* ('Inṣāf II, 759).

The above discussion amply illustrates the importance of the principle of consistency in setting up AG. Consistency is basically a logical consideration, but this does not mean that its application in evaluation and explanation in this discipline is tantamount to the imposition of logic on grammar. Logic is a tool, a guiding principle in grammar, and not an edifice whose substantive categories, for example subject and predicate in Aristotelian logic, are foisted upon AG. Consistency is an important consideration here because it is intuitively related to the explicitly expressed view in AG that language, being finite in terms of its utterances, is described by means of a finite set of rules. This principle of the application of finite means for infinite ends, to borrow an early characterisation of language by Chomsky, is essentially an articulation of the 'productivity of language' principle which Ibn al-'Anbārī expresses in the following methodological rule: *'iḥbātu mā lā yadhulu taḥta l-ḥaṣri bi-tarīqi n-naqli muḥālun*. Within this view of language and grammars, consistency is important because it seeks to ensure that the finite means of language do not generate contradictory ends.

4. Conclusion

The above discussion did not aim at exhaustiveness, either in terms of treating each of the principles in section 3 comprehensively, or in terms of listing all principles of this nature that underlie the methodological rules of AG. We have therefore left out of consideration here a host of principles, including linearity, categorisation, functionality and adjacency. An investigation of these principles would considerably add to our understanding of the foundations of the methodological rules of AG, as would the discussion of the status of these rules in terms of the type of statement in scientific discourse to which they belong. In connection with this issue, I advance the view, albeit tentatively, that the methodological rules of AG may be amenable to a form of organisation resembling the one applied by Bloomfield (1926) and, more recently, by Pike (1976) for Tagmemics. However, further research is needed before we can confidently pronounce on this subject.

The discussion of the methodological rules in the preceding section shows that an underlying level of unifying principles binds sets of rules together into what may be loosely called thematic groups. An interesting feature of this classification is that it seems to relate to views in Islamic/Arabic culture concerning the nature of man

and the universe. This is a fascinating topic from the philosophical point of view. Its elucidation would therefore have to bring together the effort and expertise of grammarians, theologians and philosophers.

The methodological rules perform an important explanatory function in AG. They are part and parcel of the rich fabric of *ta'wīl* (explanation) in this discipline. To the best of my knowledge, very little work has been done on this aspect of AG. A study of this issue would enhance our understanding of the methodological rules and their role in argumentation and debates in the Arabic grammatical tradition.

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THE POSITION OF ARABIC WITHIN THE SEMITIC DIALECT CONTINUUM*

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As it is well known, several different genetic classifications of the Semitic languages exist and are subject to dispute so that some linguists even deny a possibility of a more or less reliable genetic classification¹ of this group and consider such a classification as a kind of a "nice play". This rather serious divergence of opinions must have its source both in facts i.e. in the Semitic languages themselves and in the method which has been applied so far. In this paper it is claimed that the very fact that isoglosses combining Arabic with other Semitic languages are so contradictory i.e. pointing both to the North West and to the South is a proof that West Semitic languages constitute a dialect continuum in which the Arabic dialect group has an intermediate position between the North West Semitic and South Arabian. Certainly the idea of a dialect continuum has not been unknown to semitists but not all necessary conclusions have been drawn from it so far. An important premise is that in spite of the fact that Proto-Arabic dialects (Lihyanite, Thamudic, Safaitic etc.) and other pre-classical Arabic dialects (e.g. ancient West Arabian dialect cluster, Eastern Arabic, Himyaritic) are little known, they should nevertheless be taken into consideration in the genealogical classification² and we should also bear in mind that retentions that can be found in Middle and Modern Arabic dialects may provide us with some clues as well. So far usually only Classical Arabic has been taken into consideration though Chaim Rabin has already considered Ancient West Arabian dialects as "a link between North West Semitic and South West Semitic" (1951:2). It is indeed possible that there were transitional dialects between Arabic and North West Semitic and between Arabic and South Arabian like there are transitional dialects e.g. at the Dutch-German and Polish-Slovak border.

The fact that the close relationship of the ancient Semitic languages may impede a genetic classification based both on common innovations or/and on common retentions was not unknown to scholars already in the past century. It is useful to go back to the acknowledged "Altmeister" of comparative semitics i.e. to Theodor Nöldeke who said in 1911 (p. 620) that: "It is not very easy to settle what is the precise connection between the various Semitic languages, considered individually. In this matter one may easily be led to hasty conclusions by isolated peculiarities in vocabulary or grammar. Each of the older Semitic languages occasionally agrees in grammatical

* This paper has been written in Jerusalem during my stay as a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

¹ Hecker (1982:8) says: "Besaß schon das Ursemitische Dialekte, dann ist eine genealogische Gliederung nur wenig sinnvoll. Tatsächlich erfolgt die Einteilung unter gleichzeitiger Berücksichtigung historischer Gesichtspunkte". Most probably Hecker had only a genealogical tree in mind.

² Dolgopolskiy, forthcoming, speaks even about "Arabic languages".

points with some other to which in most respects it bears no very close resemblance, while dialects much more nearly related to it are found to exhibit different formations. Each Semitic tongue also possesses features peculiar to itself." ³ Nöldeke (1911:621 cf. 1899) considered the division of the Semitic languages into a northern and a southern group (the latter composed of North Arabic, "Sabea", Modern South Arabian and Ethiopian Semitic) as justified by facts and certain. His main argument was the existence of internal plurals and of the third class verbal form *qāʾala* only, as he thought, in South Semitic so that a clear division was allegedly possible. He nevertheless acknowledged a possibility that "intermediate dialects may once have existed, perhaps such as were in use among tribes who came into contact sometimes with the agricultural population of the north and sometimes with the nomads of the south".

Since the history of the classification of the Semitic languages has already been presented among others by Hetzron (1974), Goldenberg (1977) and Voigt (1987), I shall deal here only with opinions about the genetic classification of the Semitic languages since 1974, i.e. since the appearance of Hetzron's brilliant article in which he separated North Arabic from South Arabian and Ethiosemitic and classified it as one of the branches of "Central Semitic" parallel to Canaanite and Aramaic, then (1976 and forthcoming) together with Canaanite as an "Arabo-Canaanite" branch. Hetzron's classification has been approved by Goldenberg (1977) and it has been developed by Voigt (1987:15) who has separated Epigraphic South Arabian from both Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic and classified it as a southwest branch of "Central Semitic" parallel to Northwest Semitic (which he subdivided into "Ugaritic, ElAmarna") and Hetzron's "Central Semitic" composed of Aramaic and Canaanite-Arabic. Hetzron's classification has been criticized by Blau (1978) in an important article which has remained unknown both to another critic of Hetzron's hypothesis, i.e. to Diem (1980) and to Voigt (1987). Blau has concentrated mainly on the criticism of the alleged isoglosses connecting Arabic directly with Canaanite and Aramaic while Diem has emphasised isoglosses that allegedly link North Arabic only with southern languages. Another hypothesis concerning the genetic classification of Arabic has been presented in several versions by Garbini (finally in 1984:112) who classifies Arabic within North West Semitic and for whom the language of Amorrite names is a kind of pre-written Arabic ("una specie di arabo ante litteram"). Unfortunately, this hypothesis by the great Italian semitist is based on rather scanty evidence (e.g. on our very limited knowledge of the Amorritic of which Garbini himself scarcely gives any concrete examples) and in general it raises more questions than it answers. Especially daring and far reaching is his hypothesis about an "amorritization" not only of North Arabic but also of South Arabian and even Ethiopic! Since most of its crucial elements cannot be verified I am unable to discuss it in this paper. Finally, we have to mention Diakonoff (1988 going back to the first 1965 version, 1985) who classifies Arabic itself as a Southern-Central or South-Western subbranch opposed, among others, to Northern-Central or North-West subbranch and to Southern-Peripheral or Southern subbranch composed only of Epigraphic and

³ This is a translation of his 1899 text which may go back to the original first edition which I could not check.

Modern South Arabian while Ethiosemitic stands alone. Since Diakonoff does not specify his arguments in favour of this classification, it cannot be discussed here.

Let us now turn to the discussion of particular isoglosses.

1. Hetzron's (1974; 1975; 1976:106) main isogloss dividing West Semitic into South Semitic (composed of Ethiosemitic and a South Arabian branch) and Central Semitic is the "adoption of Jussive + *u* for the nonpast" i.e. the alleged creation of *yaqtulu* which he considers to be an innovation within this subgroup.⁴ Here Hetzron tacitly takes for granted that Epigraphic South Arabian did not have *yaqtulu*. This assumption has been criticized with a good reason by Blau (1978:26-9) who emphasises that an alleged absence of *yaqtulu* in Epigraphic South Arabian is quite improbable. Of course the lack of vocalization and gemination sign in the South Arabian script makes a reconstruction of the ESA verbal system risky and actually the whole problem of the classification of ESA is considerably obscured in this way but the fact is that the existence of *yaqtulu* in ESA has never been seriously questioned by specialists. Among several arguments in favour of *yaqtulu* in ESA, one of the most interesting is the existence first of all in Qatabanic of prefix-conjugation forms with prefixed *b-*, i.e. the so-called *b-imperfect* (cf. Höfner 1943:78-81, Beeston 1984:19, 64, 61). The syntactic functions of this *b-imperfect* correspond largely to that of *yaqtulu*. At least since Kampffmeyer (1913), Glaser (1901) and Nöldeke (1904:64-5) this ESA *b-imperfect* has been compared with the *b-imperfect* of the Middle Arabic and of Modern Arabic Dialects which is recorded for the first time in Christian Arabic texts in the ninth century A.D. (see Blau 1967:149, 1981:121-2) but could exist already before. Though the problem requires further research, the probability that there was *yaqtulu* in ESA is very considerable and if in fact the *b-imperfect* of ESA and of Arabic dialects is actually related, then we have another isogloss linking North Arabic with South Arabian (i.e. at least some dialects of both North and South). Of course, it can be argued that this *b-imperfect* isogloss, if correct, may be interpreted as due to contact and interference but then such a "borrowing" hypothesis would require the normal verification.⁵

⁴ It is possible that West Semitic which retains *yaqtulu* (cf. fn 5) simply continues that dialect or those dialects of Proto-Hamito-Semitic which had not introduced the new Present going back to the intensive form with gemination while Akkadian like Berber and perhaps Beja continues those dialects which have introduced it. Therefore it is probably not correct to speak about the loss of **iparras* in Proto-West Semitic and about *yaqtulu* as an innovation of this branch. Likewise it is perhaps not correct to speak about West Semitic *qatala* which is certainly related to the Akkadian Stative and Berber 'verbes de qualité' pattern as an innovation. It is actually a retention since it probably is related also to the Egyptian pseudoparticiples (cf. among others H.-P. Müller 1984).

⁵ On the other hand, it has to be emphasised that Hetzron's view (1976:105, actually expressed already by Bergsträsser) that *yaqtulu* "may have been based on the Jussive stem, with the addition of an 'indicativizer' *-u/-nV*: an original 'he is so that he would do', 'he is to do' becoming 'he does/he will do'" is very risky. It does not explain the origin of *-u/-nV* while a development of the "Imperfect" from a Jussive is quite without a parallel in comparative-historical linguistics. Most probably *yaqtulu* is a retention of the West Semitic since, as indicated e.g. by Kurylowicz (1973:53-4), it existed as a heritage from Proto-Semitic also in Proto-Akkadian where it survives as Relative *iprusu* (called also, with all due reservations, "Subjunctive") which has been shifted to secondary functions by *iparras*. On the shift of *iprusu* cf. Blau 1978:26. Dolgopolskiy, forthcoming, seems to follow Voigt (1987:17), when he says that *yaqtulu* has developed from *modus relativus iprus*. The main weakness of this hypothesis is that normally verbal

2. Hetzron's second isogloss i.e. the generalization of *-tV* second person suffixes in the Perfect separates his South Semitic from Central West Semitic (including Arabo-Canaanite) is quite strong though Blau (1978:31) says about the process of the generalization of *-tV* in the North West and of *-kV* in the South that "since the chances in each direction were fifty percent, the chances of independent development are extraordinarily high, so that it must not be used for genetic grouping". Personally I disagree with Blau when he insists on alleged independent developments. Since alleged "independent developments" by definition (i.e. a priori) cannot be verified i.e. distinguished from shared (or "dependent") developments of the original inherited elements the use of the concept of "independent innovation" as a scientific tool is none.

In connection with the isogloss of Perfect suffixes *-tV* versus *-kV* another question must be raised. This is the question whether the neighbouring dialects of Arabic and South Arabian did not form a transitional area in which some dialects of North Arabic could have *-kV* in the Perfect and may be even some South Arabian dialects could have *-tV*. It has been emphasized by Goldenberg (1977:478) that there is a variation of *-k-* and *-t-* e.g. in Neo-Assyrian where statives in *-āka* (2nd masc. sing.), *-āki* (2nd fem. sing.) and *-ākunu* (2nd masc. plur.) occur instead of the regular *-āta*, *-āti*, *-ātunu* and in Samaritan Aramaic we have a variation *-k/-t* and *-kon/-ton* in ultimate perfect forms. As it is known, second person forms have been recorded only in very few cases in Epigraphic South Arabian and the only ending that is attested so far is *-k*. On the other hand, in the ancient ("Himyaritic") and a part of the modern Yemenite dialects of Arabic (Rabin 1951:51-2, Goldenberg 1977:478, n.81, Behnstedt 1985) we have *-kV*. It has been usually taken for granted that this is due to a South Arabian substratum but this hypothesis has never been studied in detail and it remains only a hypothesis (cf. Diem 1979 while e.g. Rabin [1951:25-6] says that with the exception of Himyaritic the pre-Arab i.e. South Arabian substrate was very slight in Arabic-speaking districts). Another hypothesis is that at least in some Yemenite dialects of Arabic forms like *kun-ku*, *kun-ka* "I was, you were etc." are not simply due to the South Arabian substratum but are cases of survival of the forms used in transitional dialects, i.e. those dialects in the dialect continuum which had both some North Arabic and South Arabian traits.⁶ Actually both the influence of substratum and

forms limited to dependent clauses like Akkadian *iprusu* go back to original main clauses forms but another process, i.e. a shift from dependent clauses to main clauses is unknown to me. Nevertheless even IF we could accept the hypothesis that Akkadian *iprusu* is original and that its use as Imperfect in West Semitic is an innovation, this would mean only that there was a shift of a function but not a real morphological innovation. It is very interesting that within the so called "prefix conjugation" in East Cushitic we have actually three categories: Present, Past and Subjunctive which is similar to what we have in Arabic (*yaqtulu/yaqul/yaqtula*). In every discussion also Berber should be taken into consideration.

⁶ Rabin (1951:51-2) said: "Actually, the *-ku* of the first person, being the oldest ascertainable Semitic form, must have existed in the parent language of Arabic as well, and its preservation in Himyaritic may be due to the archaic character of that language, which thus would have become separated from the rest of the Arabic area before the *-ku* suffix became replaced by *-tu*. But *-ka* and the plur. *-kun* are certainly secondary developments peculiar to South Arabian and Ethiopic. We do not know at which place precisely the analogical substitution originated, but like most linguistic changes it must have spread from somewhere. The focus must have been in South Arabia, where, as we have seen, South Arabians and Arabs lived intermingled from ancient times ... The *-ka*, *-kun* suffixes in South Arabian and Himyaritic

survival of transitional dialects are not mutually exclusive. I have to emphasize that this hypothesis about the existence of transitional dialects is only a hypothesis which must be studied in detail and verified.

3. Hetzron's third isogloss, namely the "generalization of the same vowel for verbal prefixes in one verb" (1976:94) misses one point: apart from Epigraphic South Arabian in which vowels remain unknown, all other branches have generalized the prefix vowel and *all* of them did it in a *different* way. Therefore the value of the "generalization" as an isogloss is practically void. Here Hetzron does not even mention the situation in the Modern Arabic dialects some of which, at least, may continue the situation of the prehistoric period.

4. Hetzron classifies Arabic together with Canaanite as "Arabo-Canaanite" on the basis of only one alleged innovation, i.e. the adoption of *-na/nā* as the feminine plural ending in verbs as against *-ā* (Akkadian and Ethiopian) and *-ān* (Aramaic). Blau (1978:32) says: "There is, in my mind, no doubt whatsoever that Arabic and Hebrew reflect independent parallel development. Hetzron himself saw the reasons for the Hebrew and Arabic innovation: it was necessitated by the homonymy with the dual ending, and was based on the ending of the corresponding independent pronouns". Hetzron's explanation that the alleged innovation of Arabic and Hebrew was probably necessitated by the homonymy with the dual ending is rather opaque: it takes for granted that at first there had been a homonymy which later had to be resolved. Actually the opposite assumption, namely that there was no homonymy between the dual and plural, is much simpler and natural. Already Goldenberg (1977: 477) was against the hypothesis about this ending as an innovation and considered it, following Nöldeke, to be primitive.⁷ Voigt (1980:88) first argued for the Proto-Semitic origin of this ending using the same argument about the necessity to avoid the homonymy but in 1987 he changed his opinion saying: "Now I think Hetzron is right in considering the *-nā* element as an innovation necessitated by the homonymy of the feminine and dual endings ... Contrary to Hetzron, I regard this innovation as an earlier development, which can therefore not contribute to a classification of Central Semitic". He (1987:7) assumes that the occurrence of the *-n* element in Old Aramaic invalidates Hetzron's hypothesis about its Arabo-Canaanite innovation and proves that this ending "does already belong to the Central Semitic proto-language". He (1987:13-5) points out that there is *-n* (**Vn* or **nV* ? A.Z.) in the third person feminine plural also in Epigraphic South Arabian (cf. Beeston 1984:15 and W.W. Müller 1976:61) and on this basis he classifies Epigraphic South Arabian within "Central West Semitic" separating it from South Semitic which remains composed only of Modern South Arabian and Ethiop-Semitic. In my opinion this isogloss (like the ending of the *modus energicus*) indicates only that there is a dialect continuum involving North West Semitic, North Arabic and South Arabian including Modern South Arabian (cf. 3rd fem. plur. *ṭ-kath-ān* in Mehri) but this continuum goes further to the south since other South Arabian and Ethiopic isoglosses are numerous

may thus be evidence of a Yemenite "Sprachgemeinschaft" rather than of loan."

⁷ Voigt (1987:11, n.15) argues against Goldenberg (and Nöldeke!) that "the paradigm of the proto-language as reconstructed by Goldenberg has a disadvantage in that it allows consonant-initial endings". Unfortunately the argument for this preference has not been specified.

enough (cf. Moscati 1959, Gruntfest 1974, D. Cohen 1988:125). Voigt (1987:15) emphasises only "the strong links that hold between Modern South Arabian and Ethiopic languages" referring to classical studies of the subject but provides no concrete evidence for the alleged gap (cf. Diakonoff's opinion mentioned above) between Epigraphic South Arabian on the one hand and Ethiosemitic with Modern South Arabian on the other. He does not mention e.g. the second person morpheme *-k-* in the Perfect of Epigraphic South Arabian, Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic. Finally, it should be emphasised that *-na* occurs in the plural forms of verbs of other Hamito-Semitic languages. E.g. in Cushitic, see Beja *té-dif-na* "you (pl.) go", *te-kátim-na* "you (pl.) arrive" though there is no more gender distinction in the plural. Further research is needed but without it we should be careful when using this morpheme exclusively for the classification of Semitic.

Let us now turn to another, actually rather old, hypothesis about the classification of Arabic within "South Semitic" together with South Arabian and Ethiosemitic repeated e.g. by D. Cohen (1988), cf. Moscati et al. 1964:13. This hypothesis has been considered as more probable by Diem (1980) in his polemics with Hetzron (1974 and 1976).

1. Internal plural has been usually considered (e.g. by Diem 1980) as a decisive isogloss separating North Arabic, South Arabian and Ethiosemitic from the "northern" languages. Most of the discussion of this isogloss ignored the widespread use of internal plurals in Berber, Cushitic and Chadic, the situation in Egyptian (there are some internal plurals in Coptic) being obscured by the vowelless script. There can be no doubt that internal plurals are not only Proto-Semitic but also that the great number of different internal plural as such in Arabic (probably also in Epigraphic South Arabian), Modern South Arabian (D. Cohen 1988:128) and Ethiopic (ibid.) is not a secondary development at least in its great majority since Berber (especially Tuareg) and to somewhat less extent Cushitic have also a great variety of internal plural forms. It has been claimed several times that it is only the principle of internal plural forms that is common to Hamito-Semitic and that only very few internal plural forms (first of all the so called "internal *-a-* plurals") common to the different branches of Hamito-Semitic have been discovered. The answer is that very little research has been done so far and especially in view of the lack of research into regular vowel correspondences between e.g. Berber and Semitic very few common forms can be identified. In any case it has to be emphasised that the hypothesis that only Arabic and possibly South Arabian together with North Ethiosemitic developed a very differentiated system of internal plurals as an innovation has never been proven (cf. Goldenberg 1977:474) and it hardly can be proven in view of the evidence of Berber, Cushitic and Chadic. In any case, internal plural existed at least in the prehistoric stage of Hebrew⁸ so that as an isogloss it combines Arabic not only with

⁸ There is a hypothesis that Hebrew nomina segolata, which in the historical period can be interpreted as a case of umlaut (but not ablaut), actually represent original prehistoric forms with ablaut i.e. internal plurals. In connection with this I want to emphasise that in my opinion probably only a part of the segolata goes back to original internal plurals and a part is due to a secondary umlaut. There have been, probably, two parallel processes that have merged: a retention of the original internal plurals to which regular plural endings have been added and an innovation in the regular plural forms in which

South Arabian⁹ and with Ethiosemitic in which it has been retained but also with North West Semitic. It is not surprising, as assumed by Diem (1980:70-1) that we find no trace of internal plural in Akkadian. On the one hand, such a complete loss was possible even after the separation of Proto-Semitic dialect continuum from Proto-Hamito-Semitic and after the separation of Akkadian itself. On the other hand, it is also possible, that Akkadian (and perhaps also some North West Semitic dialects other than Hebrew) continued these dialects of Proto-Hamito-Semitic in which internal plural was less frequent. I want to emphasise that proto-languages, like all other languages, had to be composed of different closely related dialects (also forming dialect continua; cf. fn 4) so that a reconstruction of one, very regular and symmetric proto-language may be sometimes useful as a linguistic experiment nevertheless it is very unnatural.

2. *Qātala* and *taqātala* derived stems have also been considered (see Nöldeke: 1904, Fleisch 1944:423) as decisive isoglosses separating North West from South West¹⁰ even though Fleisch himself was well aware of the existence of *qātala* in North West Semitic. On Hebrew, cf. Goldenberg (1977:475). The most important fact is that this is not a South Semitic innovation since it is found also in Beja though this has been missed by Fleisch (1944:442-3). In this very archaic Cushitic language we have a reciprocal form of the strong, i.e. prefix conjugated, verbs which uses *-ā-* together with the prefix *(a)m(o)-*. This latter prefix corresponds to the Semitic *n-* as well as Berber *mV/nV-* and has a passive and a reflexive meaning. E.g. *gid* 'to throw' and *amō-gād-na* 'to throw at each other', *dīr* 'to kill' and *amō-dār-na* 'to kill each other' (Roper 1928:73). That in Beja actually two methods of forming derived stems have been accumulated has its own internal logic: there are both passive/reflexive and reciprocal morphemes since in a reciprocal form we have two agents who are at the same time patients.

3. Already Nöldeke (1911:621, going back to the earlier version in German) argued that *-a-* between the second and the third radical consonant in active perfect forms was an isogloss combining Arabic with Ethiopic. Goldenberg (1977:475) rightly emphasises that this fact "ought not to have been ignored". This isogloss alone, however, is not sufficient to separate Arabic altogether from North West Semitic since we do not know the real vocalization of several North West Semitic languages and on the other hand it is not clear whether all dialects of Old Arabic had only this vocalisation of all perfects since the situation in a number of Modern Arabic dialects is different and it is possible that this does reflect a very old Arabic dialect differentiation.

4. Internal passive has been considered as an isogloss connecting Arabic including Thamudic (van den Branden 1950:43) and Lihyanite (Caskel 1954:66-7) where it has been reconstructed, with North West Semitic e.g. by Rabin (1960:562) and Moscati et al. (1964:123-4). Yet it has been finally acknowledged by specialists on Epigraphic

there appeared a secondary umlaut triggered by the regular plural ending, by the stress shift and by analogy with internal plurals which acquired regular endings.

⁹ Garbini's statement (1984:112) that Epigraphic South Arabian influenced the development of internal plurals in North Arabic is practically without an evidence.

¹⁰ Beeston (1984:12) suggests the existence of *qātala* in Sabaic.

South Arabian (Prof. W.W. Müller's personal letter of 6 August 1991) that it existed in Sabaic. It survives also in Modern South Arabian (Cohen 1988:130).

5. Garbini (1984:107) considers the elimination of the third person pronominal morpheme *s-* by *h-* as an innovation of North West Semitic and of Arabic. The situation in ESA and Modern South Arabian where we have both of these morphemes (see the comparative table by D. Cohen 1988:128) proves that this isogloss reaches further to the south linking North Arabic also with South Arabian.

6. The prefixes of causative are *h-* and *s-* in Epigraphic South Arabian (the former in Sabaic and the latter in other languages or dialects) while in Arabic we have *-s-* only as a part of a compound prefix *-st-* (like in Modern South Arabic and in Ethiopic not to mention North West Semitic and Akkadian) but otherwise *'a-* while in Thamudic and in Lihyanite we have also *h-* (van den Branden 1950:34; Caskel 1954:64). Obviously these isoglosses link Arabic both with the North and with the South.

7. Another element has to be mentioned since it has been used as an argument for a North West connection of Arabic, namely the definite article (Rabin 1960:562). As it is well known, the so-called Proto-Arabic dialects have a definite article *han-** in which *n-* is usually preserved before laryngeals e.g. in Lihyanite and elsewhere it was probably assimilated to the first consonant resulting in its gemination like in Hebrew (see W.W. Müller 1982:18, 21, 24, 26). There are also some traces of *'al-* (so in late Lihyanite, Caskel 1954:68). The definite article **han-* (cf. Mayer Lambert 1972:79 for Hebrew) has its cognates not only in North West Semitic (Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, Edomite and Ammonite at least) but also in Modern South Arabian where we find *h(a)-/h(a)-/a-/a-* in Mehri and Harsusi as well as *e-/i/ya* in Šheri (Johnstone 1970:306 but cf. Johnstone 1960:85; cf. also Pennachietti 1969). It is possible that the development of the **han-/al-* (the latter variant being "ancient North-East Arabian" according to Beeston 1981:185) prefixed definite article was partially an areal development. If, however, it could be simply a common heritage of a part of West Semitic, this would support the hypothesis about the dialect continuum and about Arabic enchainment both with North West Semitic and South Semitic. That it is probably a later development is indicated by the fact that the internal reconstruction of Arabic (Kurylowicz 1973:131-3, cf. the original version in 1950) shows that originally the nunation had the function of the definite article¹¹ like suffixed *-n* in Sabaic.¹² In Hadramitic it is, however, *-hn* (cf. D. Cohen 1988:125; Rabin 1951:36). This could be a case of suffixation of *hn-* which is prefixed in other languages mentioned above, a feature which is reminiscent of Aramaic (and Rumanian!) where

¹¹ It is astonishing that Garbini (1984:152) says, without mentioning Kurylowicz, that we are still waiting for somebody to explain why *-n* has a function of status determinatus in ESA but a function of status indeterminatus in Arabic.

¹² It has to be emphasised, however, that Kurylowicz (1973:134) supported the view that the South Arabian "nunation of the determined state" stemmed from an old "individualizing" or "singulative" suffix *-dn-* attested in Akkadian and also in Arabic *ins-dn-u-n* (cf. *ins-u-n*). He admitted that "the South Arabian nunation is to a certain extent the functional successor of the Semitic nunation (mimation)" (ibid.). If this hypothesis is true, this would justify positing a hypothesis about Arabic and South Arabian relation since *-dn* may be interpreted as suffixed article **han/-an* while the suffixation of the article could be due to contact.

the definite article is suffixed. Thus *-n* as a definite article which allegedly occurs also in the oldest Lihyanite inscriptions (Caskel 1954:68) is an Arabic-ESA isogloss which is, obviously, not sufficient to connect Arabic only with Epigraphic South Arabic and to disconnect it from North West Semitic.

The very little known Himyaritic as scantily recorded by Mediaeval Arab writers had still another variant of the *han-/al-* article, i.e. *'am/'an* (Rabin 1951:34-6, 50, 205; Beeston 1981:184-5) which was considered as "Common West Arabian" by Rabin (1951) and was also found in the Ṭayyī and in the mediaeval Yemenite dialects. This article survives in some Modern Arabic dialects of Yemen (see Behnstedt 1985:64, 16 where we find *am*, *m-*, *im-* and even *b-/ab-*) and in some Central Sudanese Beḍīn dialects (Rabin 1951:35 with a reference to Kampffmeyer).

Other alleged isoglosses (e.g. the development of feminine *-at* into *-ah*, cf. Blau 1978:33-4) are practically irrelevant. In particular irrelevant are the alleged phonetic isoglosses, i.e. the phonetic realization of Proto-Semitic **/p/* as [f] in Arabic, Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic, the realization of Proto-Semitic **/g/* as [ǧ] (here it has to be emphasised that in several dialects of Arabic we still have [g] which is not an innovation!) and of the Proto-Semitic "emphatics" as pharyngealized or velarized in Arabic but as glottalized ejectives in Ethiosemitic and Modern South Arabian. Since there has been no phonemic opposition between [p] and [f], [g] and [ǧ] and between glottalization and pharyngealization/velarization in Proto-Semitic, different phonetic realizations could coexist as free and facultative variants like e.g. [g], [ǧ], [ʕ] etc. variants of the same phoneme coexist in Modern Arabic so that the use of free variants (normally not indicated in the script!) has no value for a genetic classification unless a subsequent phoneme split takes place.

Finally I can only mention Garbini's (1984:109) idea that final *-m* in the second and the third person masculine plural of the independent and suffixed pronouns as well as in the endings of the Perfect is an isogloss connecting Arabic with North West Semitic. It is surprising that Ethiopic e.g. *antannmū*, *-kannmū*, Mehri *hēm*, *atēm*, *-han*, *-kan*, Šheri *šum*, *tum*, *-kum* (though in Soqotri there is *-hāt*, *-kāt*, and even Šheri has *-hun* for the third person masculine plural) are not mentioned there.

It is not by chance that no discussion of the very old controversy about genealogical tree and wave theory has been undertaken here. It is well known that both theories are to a certain degree simplifications and that genealogical tree is usually a better representation of the prehistory of the genetic development when the languages in question are already quite distant whereas it is difficult to use in the case of very closely related languages. In this paper the emphasis has been put not on theory but on facts which show that in the Semitic dialect chain Arabic has a position between North West and South Semitic as it was claimed by Chaim Rabin already in 1960 (p. 562, cf. a somewhat changed opinion in 1963, especially p. 107) though this has been done on the basis of different arguments.¹³ Let us recall also that

¹³ Rabin (1960:562). Diem (1980:83) says that because of the uncertain character of several factors perhaps it would have been better to withdraw on a purely descriptive position and to speak about an intermediate linguistic position of Arabic ("sprachliche Zwischenstellung des Arabischen") or to follow Diakonoff and to consider Arabic at least provisionally as a separate group. I want to emphasise that I differ from Diem when I speak about Arabic between North West Semitic and South Arabian in the dialect chain because my solution is based mostly on isoglosses shared by all the three groups in the

Polotsky (1964) rather supported the old idea expressed already by Hommel that "any subdivision with the Western branch ("North-West", "South-West") was not only irrelevant and superfluous but misleading". There is no contradiction between geographic position of Arabic and its position in the dialect chain. The final result is largely a return to the traditional classification.

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